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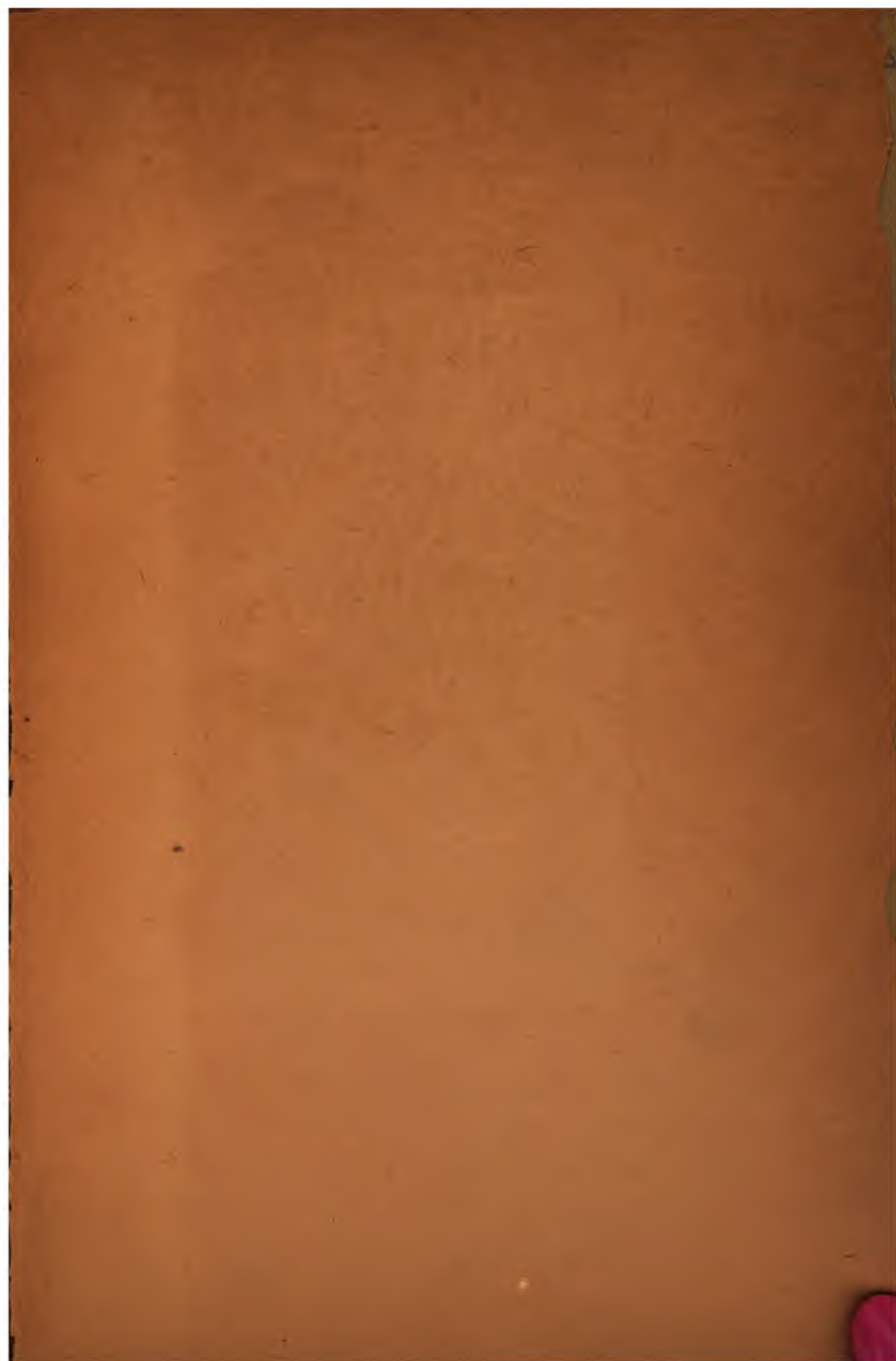


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THE DIATESSARON OF TATIAN AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

BEING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DIATESSARON FOR THE LIGHT
WHICH IT THROWS UPON THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM
OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL, IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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BY
A. A. HOBSON

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LIST OF WORKS AND AUTHORS.

REFERRED TO BY ABBREVIATION.

- Ba. = BACON, B. W.: Tatian's Rearrangement of the Fourth Gospel, *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IV, pp. 770-95.
- Ca. = CASSELS, W. R.: *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1895, pp. 665-81.
- Csc. = CIASCA, AGOSTINO: *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* (Rome, 1888).
- Ful. = FULLER, J. M.: "Tatian," in SMITH AND WACE's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.
- Hrk.^a = HARNACK, A.: *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I, pp. 213-18 (Leipzig, 1883).
- Hrk.^b = HARNACK, A.: "Tatian," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition.
- Hrk.^c = HARNACK, A.: *Geschichte der allchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, Bd. I, pp. 485-96 (Leipzig, 1893); Bd. II, 1, pp. 284-89 (Leipzig, 1897).
- Har.^a = HARRIS, J. R.: *The Diatessaron* (London, 1890).
- Har.^b = HARRIS, J. R.: *Contemporary Review* Vol. LXVIII (August, 1895), pp. 271-78 (also printed in *Christian Literature*, Vol. XIII, p. 268).
- Har.^c = HARRIS, J. R.: *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephraem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (London, 1895).
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- H.^b = HILL, J. H.: *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of St. Ephraem, the Syrian* (Edinburgh, 1896).
- Hj. = HJELT, ARTHUR: "Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzungen und Tatian's Diatessaron," in ZAHN's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Litteratur*, Theil VII, Heft I (Leipzig, 1903).
- Hg. = HOGG, H. W.: "The Diatessaron of Tatian," in MENZIES's *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX (New York, 1896).
- Lgft. = LIGHTFOOT, J. B.: *Essays on Supernatural Religion* (London, 1889), pp. 272-88.
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- Mo. = MOORE, G. F.: "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 201-15.
- N. = NESTLE, E.: "Syriac Versions," in HASTINGS's *Dictionary of the Bible*.
- R. = RANKE, E.: *Codex Fuldensis* (Lipsiae, 1868).
- Sel. = SELLIN, E.: "Der Text des von A. Ciasca (Rom, 1888) herausgegebenen arabischen Diatessarons," in ZAHN's *Forschungen des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Litteratur*; Theil IV, pp. 225-46 (Erlangen und Leipzig, 1891).
- W. = WACE, H.: "Tatian's Diatessaron," *Expositor*, Series II, Vol. II (1881), pp. 1-11, 128-37, 193-205.
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TEXTS USED IN VERIFICATION AND QUOTATIONS.

Cur. = CURETON, WILLIAM: *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* (London, 1858).

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Lew. = LEWIS, AGNES SMITH: *Some Pages of the Four Gospels Retranscribed: together with a Complete Translation* (London, 1896).

Pusey = PUSEY, P. E., AND GWILLIAM, G. H.: *Tetraevangelium Sanctum* (Oxford, 1901).

Tisch. = TISCHENDORF, C.: *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Editio Octava, Critica Major (Lipsiae, 1872).

This bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, but to give the most important works, and those which should be used in conjunction with this paper. A number of old and now less important treatises might be added. For additional notices see the lists of Hill and Nestle.

INTRODUCTION.

1. THE facts concerning Tatian's *Diatessaron*, so far as they have been discovered, are well known to scholars. Since Th. Zahn's work (published in 1881) upon Ephraem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, and especially since Ciasca's publication of the Arabic *Diatessaron* (1888), much labor has been expended upon the problems connected with this important work of Tatian's. The latest, and perhaps the most complete, summary of results in the investigation of the literary notices of Tatian and his work, and as regards questions arising from such study, is to be found in Hjelt's work (see Hj.). Though this work is apparently indebted, to a great degree, to the earlier publication of Zahn, it is briefer than the latter and brings the discussion down to the present time. This recent statement makes it unnecessary to repeat the facts readily accessible in it. It will suffice to say that scholars have reached quite general agreement on a number of points,¹ which, so far as we need mention them, are these:² Tatian wrote a gospel (probably 173-75 A. D.), called *Diatessaron*, because compiled from our four canonical gospels. We have trustworthy remains of his work in Ephraem's *Commentary*, edited by Moesinger, and in the quotations of some of the Syrian Fathers, especially in those of Aphraates. Ephraem's *Commentary* is accessible only in a Latin translation of an Armenian version of it. Aphraates's quotations are consultable in Graffin's splendid new edition of that Syrian Father's *Homilies*.³ It is in these quotations alone that we have remains of the original Syriac *Diatessaron*.⁴ Both Aphraates and Ephraem wrote in Syriac during the fourth century, the latter about 350 A. D., the former a little earlier. In addition to these fragmentary remains of Tatian's gospel, there is the harmony of the gospels preserved in *Codex Fuldensis*, which is really a Latin adaptation of the *Diatessaron* made by arranging the Vulgate text in the order indicated by Tatian's gospel, but with considerable modification of that order. This Latin harmony was known as early as the first part of the sixth century, and was compiled

¹ The contention of W. R. Cassels (Ca.) adverse to the items here mentioned requires little attention, in view of the reply of J. R. Harris (Har.b).

² Hrk.c, I, pp. 486-96; also Hrk.a, pp. 213-28; and, for wider limits of date than are suggested above, cf. Hrk.c, II, p. 289. See also, upon all the facts mentioned, Hill, Hjelt, Zahn, and others, *op. cit.*

³ *Patrologia Syriaca*, Pars Prima, Tomus Primus.

⁴ That the *Diatessaron* was originally written in Syriac seems now to be generally believed. Harnack (Hrk.b) followed by W. R. Cassels (Ca.), however, dissents.

probably somewhat earlier (*ca.* 400, according to Hj., p. 58). Still further, in the Arabic *Diatessaron* published by Ciasca we have a quite skilful and faithful eleventh-century translation of Tatian's work, made from a ninth-century Syriac manuscript, by the quite well-known Arabic writer Abu 'l Faraj 'Abdulla ibn-at-Tayib.⁵ This version is, with some limitations, a trustworthy representation of Tatian's gospel.⁶ These facts, generally assented to by those scholars who have given them consideration, give a solid basis and distinct point of departure for this dissertation.

2. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* to the four canonical gospels, which indisputably constitute the chief, if not the only, source of that work, with a view to determining how far this relation resembles that which, on a documentary theory of the origin of the synoptic gospels, is proved to exist between the resultant gospels and their sources, and whether this resemblance is such as to support or discredit that theory.⁷ We have in Tatian's work an attempt, made probably within one hundred, or at most one hundred and ten, years after the completion of our latest synoptic gospel, to compile from written sources an account of the life of Jesus—a gospel, if you please.⁸ It would seem, therefore, that we might expect this gospel to show phenomena that are likely to occur in gospels which are based on written sources. The degree of similarity between these phenomena and those which appear in a comparison of the synoptic gospels with their alleged sources ought, therefore, to give a helpful basis for determining the probability or improbability of the documentary theory as a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of the first three gospels.

3. This task necessitates as a preliminary matter the finding of sure

⁵ For a brief, yet satisfactory, presentation and discussion of available information concerning the Arabic *Diatessaron* see Hogg's treatment (Hg.).

⁶ For a contrary view see Hrk.c, I, p. 495. The whole matter is discussed below.

⁷ The documentary hypothesis is often alleged to be insufficient to account for the supposed deviations of the gospels from their alleged sources. The import of this objection is stated with commendable brevity by V. H. STANTON in his article on the gospels in HASTINGS's *Dictionary of the Bible*: "It is said that the oral theory alone will account for the differences between the gospels." This objection, moreover, is the basis of the entire argument of one of the most recent attempts to support the oral-tradition theory. K. VERR, in the second part of his *Die synoptischen Parallelen*, devotes his first chapter to a review of the present situation in regard to the synoptic problem, and also to an unfavorable criticism of every *Kombinationshypothese*. He assumes throughout his discussion in this chapter (see in particular pp. 6, 9, 10) that the differences of the several gospels from one another must, each and every one of them, have some specific explanation; and that, if the explanations which have been made by some on the basis of the "tendencies" of the several evangelists fail at any point, then some other than a documentary theory must be called in to solve the problem. The results of this investigation will have a direct bearing upon the weight which should be allowed this objection.

⁸ Syrian church fathers were wont to refer to the *Diatessaron* as a gospel. For the notices see Hj., pp. 30-47.

textual ground. The two terms to be compared in order to determine the relation of the *Diatessaron* to its sources are (a) the text of the gospels possessed by T^o and employed by him in the work of constructing D, and (b) the text which from these sources he constructed. If we possessed these, the one precisely as T had it, and the other precisely as T made it, all differences between them would be referable to T and would illustrate his method. But, in fact, neither of them is directly and exactly given in any existing document. In any comparison between the original text of the gospels, as this is presumably restored today, and the text of D, as we have it, allowance must be made, on the one side, for the possibility that T used a text of the gospels other than that which is today accepted as approximately original; and, on the other, for possible corruption of the text of the *Diatessaron* in transmission. The materials of which account must be taken, because of our uncertainty respecting the two elements of the comparison, are as follows:

I. THE GOSPEL TEXT EMPLOYED BY TATIAN.

Possible sources:

- a) The Greek gospels (and their variants).
- b) The Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac versions.

II. THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON.

1. Extant witnesses (arranged in the order of their respective ages):

- a) Quotations in the *Homilies* of Aphraates.
- b) Quotations in Ephraem's *Commentary*.
- c) The gospel harmony in *Codex Fuldensis*.
- d) The Arabic version of the *Diatessaron*.

2. Possible sources of corruption:

- a) Later Syriac versions:
 - α) Peshitta.
 - β) Philoxeniana.
 - γ) Harklensiana.
- b) Arabic readings (due to):
 - α) Arabic translator.
 - β) Arabic versions of canonical gospels.
 - γ) Errors of scribes of the Arabic *Diatessaron*.
- c) Variants of the text of the Greek gospels.

^oThe following abbreviations will be used from this point on:

A = the Arabic *Diatessaron*.

E = Ephraem's *Commentary*.

D = the *Diatessaron* (without reference to any particular witness).

F = the gospel harmony in *Codex Fuldensis*.

Aph. = quotations in the *Homilies* of Aphraates.

T = Tatian.

M = Moesinger's edition of Ephraem's *Commentary*.

P = Peshitta Syriac version.

Ss = Sinaitic Syriac Version.

Sc = Curetonian Syriac version.

Sφ = Philoxenian Syriac version.

Sθ = Harklensian Syriac version.

For the symbols for the Syriac versions I am indebted to NESTLE's article "Syriac Versions," in *HASTINGS's Dictionary*.

From the nature of these materials it is impossible to reconstruct either the precise text of the gospels as employed by T, or a complete and exact text of the *Diatessaron* as it left T's hands; nor is this necessary. If from the list of passages in which D differs from a standard Greek text we eliminate all passages of D whose variation from a standard text of the gospels may be due to *a*) or *b*) of Column I, or whose phenomena may be due to any of the sources mentioned in Column II, 2, the remaining peculiarities²⁰ of D may be confidently ascribed to T's literary method. The construction of such a list, however, requires a comparative evaluation of the several extant witnesses of D. We will for convenience consider, first, what witness may be safely used for the determination of the general order of D, and then, how details of the text may be used with certainty.

a) The general order of D can be ascertained by a comparison of A and E. The other witnesses give but little help. In the nature of their evidence, the quotations in Aphraates's *Homilies* can give but supplementary testimony. Such as it is, it has been taken into account by Zahn in his reconstruction of D from E, and since that reconstruction has been used in this study, the said evidence of Aph. has been given sufficient consideration by us. F is the only other witness. Its general character all but excludes it from consideration as a chief witness, though at points it serves to corroborate E and A. When F is compared with E and A, it is clear that its author changed D by omitting and adding (*e. g.*, the section on the woman taken in adultery) paragraphs and by rearranging its order.²¹ The suspicion against F, aroused by these facts, is enhanced by a comparison of the order in the *praefatio* with that of the actual extant text of F (see R.). Not only have the chapters of the text been differently numbered, but, if the *praefatio* really represents an older order of the text (Z.², p. 301), additions (*viz.*, chaps. 21, 69 of the text), substitutions (chaps. 106, 107 of the text in the place of the repetition of chaps. 95 and 96 of the *praefatio*—a repetition probably due, however, to the error of a scribe in copying the *praefatio*, in which case these chapters 106 and 107 are really

²⁰ The terms "peculiarities," "deviations," "variants," used with reference to passages in D, connote throughout this discussion a comparison of such passages with the Greek gospels, unless some statement to the contrary is made.

²¹ For a verification of the statements made in this paragraph, Appendix I of H.² will be found most useful. I have verified the references there made, and with one exception there is no inaccuracy that affects this study. The exception is the attribution of A 6:23-24 (marginal number in Hg.) to F, chap. 80 (according to the chapter numbers of the text, not those of the *praefatio*), whereas F, chap. 80, is parallel to A 18:1-20 ff. The first-mentioned passage of A is omitted by F.

additions), and changes of order (*cf. praefatio*, chaps. 102-4, with the text, chaps. 103-5) have been made. Accordingly, both by such a comparison and by that of F with E and A, F is proved to be, as a whole, untrustworthy for the determination of the general order of D. Where it agrees with E and A — and this is the case in large part — it may be used as corroborative of them. If its evidence is opposed by E and A, combined or independent, it is generally to be rejected. E and F never, except possibly in one case (*cf. pp. 10-14*), combine against A. There are a few instances in which F corroborates A at least against the inferences drawn from E by Zahn (see discussion below). There are also some cases of differences between A and F, which have no corroboration in E for one or the other, because of E's generally fragmentary testimony to D. The quite invariable unreliability of the order of F, in contrast to the almost constant trustworthiness of that of A, is alone enough to give the preference to A rather than to F. But there are some other considerations that lead to the same conclusion. The passages involved are (1) A 6: 25-35 = F, chap. 56¹²; (2) A 6: 46-54 = F, chaps. 20, 49, 51; (3) A 7: 47-53 = F, chap. 70; (4) A 15: 27-32 = F, chap. 66; (5) A 44: 10 = F, chap. 155. If these passages are examined, it will appear that all except the last are in contexts of F which also present material in a different order from that of A, yet for the position of this contextual material A has the support of E. It would accordingly seem reasonable to suppose that, if Ephraem had seen fit to quote from the passages noted above (1-4), the position of these in A would have been supported by E just as the position of the material of their contexts is. An examination of the passages reveals also that the order of A is less probably due to a superficial worker than that of F. For example, it is easier to suppose A 44: 10 is in an original position and has been changed to that of F, chap. 155, than to explain the reverse process. The examination of these passages, therefore, added to the consideration of the general character of A and F respectively, leads inevitably to the rejection of F rather than A. A similar confidence in A is reached with regard to passages omitted by both E and F, but retained in A.¹³ At first sight, it might be supposed that the silence of both E and F is evidence against A, but the fragmentary character of E is in every case sufficient to account

¹² The numbers referring to A are those which appear in the left-hand margin of Hg. On the same side of the page Hg. has printed references to the corresponding pages of Csc. References to F are to the chapter numbering of the text. The sign = indicates throughout this paper parallel material, though in some citations the full limits of the parallels are not shown.

¹³ There are but three such passages; *cf. footnote above*, p. 12, and H.², App. I.

for its silence, and omission is characteristic of F. Moreover, A's inclusion of the passages is difficult to explain on the ground of scribal error, for few scribes would have selected such unexpected positions. F therefore is to be allowed no independent weight against A, no matter which of the above classes of passages are considered. If this be true, then, any further comparison of F with other witnesses is unnecessary. This leaves us—since, as already stated, Aph. is practically taken into account below through our use of Z.^a—with only E and A to be compared.

In the comparison of these two it will be found most convenient to use Zahn's reconstruction of D as the summation of E's evidence. With such a method of procedure, the first fact that attracts attention is the remarkable agreement in order between E and A—a fact which at once, especially when the corroboration of F is remembered, establishes the validity of the general order of both. There are really only six passages where there is disagreement. To make this statement good, however, there must be taken into account, first, those passages to which Zahn has given, but on inference alone, a different position from that which they occupy in A. Zahn had for his placings no evidence in E, since the passages in question do not occur in E. He was led to arrange the passages as he did, because in our gospels they stand in connection with other passages which are quoted in E, but, as quoted are in no disagreement with A. Zahn's inference was natural in the absence of evidence from A, but is now not to be admitted to have any weight, especially since A is supported by F in its positions for some of these passages. There are, in all, seven sections in which Zahn's order rests solely on the inference referred to. These are: (1) A 5:33-41 = Luke 4:14b-22a = Zahn, § 32 = M., pp. 128-31;¹⁴ (2) A 7:46 = Mark 3:21 = Zahn, § 27 = M., pp. 111-13; (3) A 13:36, 37 = Mark 6:12, 13 = Zahn, § 24 = M., pp. 90-98; (4) A 14:43, 44 = Mark 6:30, 31 = Zahn, § 34 = M., pp. 132-36; (5) A 20:12-16 = 12-16 = Luke 11:37-41 = Zahn, § 77 = M., pp. 211-13; (6) A 27:24, 25 = Luke 12:47, 48 = Zahn, § 79 = M., pp. 213-18; (7) A 28:33-41 = Luke 12:13-21 = Zahn, § 54 = M., pp. 174 f. Of these passages, concerning which, let us remember, E is entirely silent, five—(1), (3), (4), (5), and (7)—are given the same position by A and F. This agreement without any adverse testimony of E, is conclusive against the mere inference of Zahn. Of the remaining passages one

¹⁴ For a convincing discussion of this section see H.^a, App. IX. All references to Zahn's sections throughout our investigation refer to his reconstruction of D in *Forsch.*, I, pp. 112-219.

—(2)—is entirely omitted by F, and therefore is to be classed and disposed of together with the passages discussed above, in which A is to be accepted where E and F are silent. The only other passage—(6)—is differently placed by A and F, though the difference is not great (*cf.* A 26:43-45 and 27:24, 25 with F, chaps. 109 ff.) But, in so far as there is difference, A is to be accepted rather than F, on the principles determined in the preceding paragraph. We may, therefore, accept the testimony of A as to all seven of these passages rather than the inference of Zahn.¹⁵ But there is still another passage, not noted above, which needs separate treatment, because it rests on slightly more than inference. This is A 31:36-52 = Luke 19:11-27 = Zahn, § 80 = M., pp. 218 f. From the fact that Aphraates brings this passage into connection with the similar parable of the ten talents, and that F gives the passage in the same connection, Zahn concludes that, therefore, it had this position in the original *Diatessaron*. E is silent. F is to be given no more than its usual value. In regard to Aphraates it may fairly be urged that it would be natural to expect these parables to be combined in a homily even more than in a work like F, though, in the latter, the tendency to bring similar material together is marked. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why a scribe should separate the parables if they stood together in D, or why he should have put this one of the pounds at the particular point at which it occurs in A. A more reasonable explanation of all the evidence than that which Zahn gave to a part of it is that A correctly represents D, while Aph. and F are derived from such an order as that of A, and are due to the tendency to associate similar material. The conclusion is, therefore, to be accepted that Zahn's inferences, in all eight instances, are untrustworthy because of the lack of evidence. There is no reason to suppose that Zahn would have drawn such conclusions as he did, if he had had access to A. We may, accordingly, conclude that A correctly represents the order of D in the above passages.

We may, therefore, proceed to discuss the six passages mentioned above as raising real difficulties.

I. A 3:1-4:30, Luke 2:40-3:6 + Matt. 3:1-3 (*cf.* A 3:24-44), Zahn, § 7; M., pp. 36-40.¹⁶—The respective order of E and A is as follows:

¹⁵ Zahn has acknowledged the limitations of his work done before the publication of A. See Z.b, pp. 618, 623.

¹⁶ Only those parts of the parallel passages of material are indicated which are needed for the investigation. *Cf.* footnote, p. 13.

E (1) Matt. 2:15.		(3) John 1:17; 1:14; 1:19-28 (partly).
A (1) Matt. 2:16-23.	(2) Luke 2:40-3:6 + Matt. 3:1-3.	(3) John 1:7-28.
E (4) Matt. 3:10.	(5) Luke 2:47-49.	(6) Matt. 3:4, 9. (7) John 1:29.
A (4) Matt. 3:4-10 + Luke 3:10-28.	(6) See (4).	(7) John 1:29 ff.

The chief point of difference is the position of A (2) and E (5), which are the same in regard to subject-matter. If E's (5) agreed with A's (2), there would be no difficulty, for (6) would then follow (4) immediately, and the transposition of Matt. 3:10 would be of very little significance, since all of E's quotations in (4) and (6) come from the same general section of Matthew. That E's position for (5) is correct is impossible to believe; for how could T have been led to insert the account of Jesus' visit to Jerusalem at twelve years of age, in the midst of the account of John the Baptist's ministry, and this, too, in such an order that John is made to begin his address to the Pharisees (Matt. 3:10), then this is broken by the account of Jesus' journey (Luke 2:47-49), then a description of John's raiment (Matt. 3:4) is introduced, and finally the words of John are resumed (Matt. 3:9 and John 1:29), at a point (Matt. 3:9) before the break above noted occurs (Matt. 3:10)? No explanation of such an order is possible. On the other hand, the order of the narrative in A is natural, and is supported by that of F. The only reasonable conclusion is that Ephraem's brief comment on Luke 2:47-49 (M., p. 40) has been displaced. The displacement is easily explained, if it be true, as has been suggested by Zahn (Z.⁸, p. 51), that E represents, in its extant form, notes taken by some student as he listened to Ephraem's lectures. At any rate, it is impossible to accept E's order as original, and therefore the natural order of A, supported by that of F, seems to represent D correctly.

II. *A 5:49-6:4 = Luke 5:1-11 = Zahn, § 14 = M., p. 59.*—Here, too, there is a real difference between E and A. The latter has the account of the miraculous draught of fishes in connection with the call of the first four disciples, before the account of Jesus' disciples' baptizing in Judea. In other words, A represents T as having brought Luke's account of the call of the four into connection with the account of Mark and Matthew, but without interweaving, and as having put the combined accounts before that of John 3:22-4:3a. On the other hand, the order of the quotations in E indicates that the accounts from the synoptic gospels followed that from John 3:22-4:3a. But E omits a considerable part of D here, and it is difficult to reconstruct, on the basis of its testimony at this point. Zahn says, referring to this por-

tion of E (§ 13, p. 128): "Der springende Charakter des Commentars macht die Wiederherstellung der Ordnung fast unmöglich." On the other hand, A gives the accounts just where we might expect them, and, so far as the material mentioned is concerned, is supported by F in so doing. This would lead to the conclusion that A is again correct.

III. *A 14:9 (cf. A 8:47) = Luke 16:17 = Zahn, § 17 (cf. § 26) = M., p. 65.*—The difference here is not very serious. Zahn recognizes the possibility that Ephraem may have quoted here Luke 16:17 as a substitute for Matt. 5:18, which was in D at this point, and is so preserved by A (8:47). It is not at all clear even that E represents his quotation of Luke 16:17 as a part of the text of D. The passage is not quoted to be commented upon, but is introduced as illustrative material. It is certainly not violent, therefore, to suppose that Ephraem used in his lecture this quotation, which came to him more readily than Matt. 5:18, even though he was discussing the context of the latter. The probability that this is true is strengthened by recalling that the verses are not greatly, though, on close study, distinctly different. It is still further strengthened by the difficulty of supposing that T, working with written sources, should have made this substitution when, in a considerable part of the context of A 8:47 going either backward or forward, he was relying entirely upon Matthew (except for two small items not occurring at all in the first gospel). Again, F supports A at this point. Furthermore, there is some corroboration of A by Aph. While it is not a settled fact that Aph. used only D, it is certain that he quoted his gospel texts largely from it. It is, accordingly, significant that, while he has quoted or made recognizable allusions to the fifth chapter of Matthew fifty-nine times, and has quoted our very verse (18) twice, he never quotes nor alludes to Luke 16:17 in all his homilies.¹⁷ This is somewhat surprising if Luke 16:17 stood in his text of D where Matt. 5:18 now stands in A, and if Matt. 5:18 was thus entirely omitted from D. But, whatever conclusion we reach as to whether A is correct at 8:47 in having Matt. 5:18 rather than Luke 16:17, there is no evidence to raise a question of the validity of A in giving Luke 16:17 at A 14:9. The only question to be answered, therefore, is: Did T use Luke 16:17 twice, substituting it in the first instance for Matt. 5:18? A negative answer is probable in view of the above considerations. It was in all probability Ephraem who made the substitution, not Tatian.

¹⁷ The facts concerning Aphraates which are used in this paper have been ascertained by the present writer through an investigation of the marginal notes in Graffin's edition.

IV. *A 15:17-26* (cf. *A 12:40 ff.*) = *Luke 10:3-12* = *Zahn, § 24* = *M., pp. 90-98*.—The problem in this case is as follows: In the midst of a comment on Matthew, chap. 10—the speech of instructions to the Twelve as they are about to be sent out by Jesus—Ephraem quotes what is, at least apparently, *Luke 10:5*, and that, too, as a part of the text of *D* (*M., p. 92*). This would suggest that *T* had interwoven with this speech the similar instructions to the Seventy recorded in *Luke 10:3-12*. This suggestion, adopted by *Zahn*, is further supported, according to *Hill* (Appendix IX), by some traces of conflation still to be found in *A* itself (viz., “two and two,” *A 12:43*; *Luke 10:1*; and “lambs,” *A 13:1*; *Luke 10:3*); and especially by the fact that *F* has still more of the interweaving at this point and omits *Luke 10:3-12* at the place where *A* (15:17-26) includes it. If *A* is to be preferred here, this array of evidence, which at least seems strong, must be disposed of. Yet the case against *A* is not so strong as it may at first seem. All of the items of evidence, when scrutinized separately, are found to have little, and some of them no, weight.

It is not at all clear that the quotation in *E* really represents a use of *Luke 10:5* by *T*. To determine this, the following columns will be found useful:

PARALLEL ACCOUNTS OF THE SENDING OF THE TWELVE.	E	ACCOUNT OF SENDING THE SEVENTY.
(Matt. 10:12.) <i>εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάζεσθε αὐτήν.</i>	(<i>M., p. 92.</i>) In quamcumque domum intraveritis primum salutate domum (cited as text of <i>D</i>).	(<i>Luke 10:5.</i>) <i>εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσελθῃτε οἰκίαν πρῶτον λέγετε εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.</i>
(<i>Luke 9:4a.</i>) <i>καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσελθῃτε.</i>	(<i>M., p. 63.</i>) In quamcumque domum intraveritis primum dicite, pax huic domui (cited as an illustration).	

If we suppose that *T* used only the parallel accounts of the sending of the Twelve, we must conclude that he employed *Matt. 10:12*; modified its first member, under the influence of *Luke 9:4a*, from a participial to a finite construction; added *primum* (if *E* correctly represents the text of *D*), either according to a characteristic of his general literary method, or under the influence of the similar saying in *Luke 10:5*; and substituted *domum* for *αὐτήν*. If we suppose *T* used here *Luke 10:5*, we must note carefully that he changed the position of *οἰκίαν* in the first member, and omitted *τούτῳ* and substituted *salutate* for *λέγετε εἰρήνη* in the second. On neither supposition do we get an

exact quotation. Taking the two members of the verse separately, it is to be noted that the first agrees with Luke 10:5, excepting the inexplicable change of order (unless appeal to T's literary habits is made);¹⁸ but it may also be assigned to Luke 9:4a, and that, too, with no unexplained element. The latter assignment is, accordingly, slightly more probable, because nothing remains to be explained. As regards the second member, if we assign it to Matthew, we must suppose either that E's text is unreliable, or that T added *primum* and substituted *domum* for *αὐτήν*. If we assign it to Luke 10:5, we must conclude that Tatian was influenced by Matt. 10:12 in substituting *λέγετε εἰρήνην* for *ἀσπάσασθε* and in the omission of *τούτω*. Accordingly, it is all but impossible to determine which assignment of the second member is least beset with difficulties. On account of its greater general similarity to Matthew, however, the assignment in this direction is slightly more probable. Therefore, both the members, if considered separately, are more probably to be assigned to the parallel accounts of the sending of the Twelve (the first column above). Really, the only difficult element in such an assignment is *primum*, which occurs only in Luke 10:5 (account of the sending out of the Seventy). It is certainly precarious to conclude from the presence of this one word that the entire passage Luke 10:3-12 was conflated here in the text of D which E used. And this word, in this one verse, is the only testimony to such interweaving that E offers; for the quotation of Luke 10:6, which Zahn includes in this section, occurs in such a connection as to give no indication of the order of Ephraem's exemplar, being quoted (M., p. 105), as Zahn himself says, decidedly *ausser Zusammenhang*. But not only is E's positive evidence precarious; it is all but entirely negated by a consideration growing out of the fact that E quotes Luke 10:5 in another form at a different point (M., p. 63; cf. p. 18). The exact quotation of this verse as illustrative material indicates that when Ephraem referred to the idea expressed in it, this idea was apt to occur to his mind in the form of Luke 10:5. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this verse has influenced him in quoting D at the point under discussion. Such a supposition will remove every difficulty in the way of trusting A, *i. e.*, so far as E awakens distrust. The supposition is supported, moreover, not only by this double quotation of Luke 10:5, but also by Ephraem's notoriously general looseness in quoting (cf. H.^b, pp. 18-25).

¹⁸No appeal to T's literary habits can be made in this discussion either for one assignment or the other, since on this ground a case could be made out for either.

Besides this ground, E itself gives further evidence for distrusting it as a basis for a reconstruction of D at this point. Ephraem quotes Matt. 10:8b ("gratis accepistis, gratis date"), both in connection with his comments on the sending out of the Twelve (M., p. 91) and with those on the sending out of the Seventy (M., p. 115). This assignment of the quotations is indisputable. Analogously to the position of Zahn, it must be granted that this evidence proves a conflation at both points in D. But it is distinctly improbable that T harmonized and conflated these two sets of instructions, and then used the conflated passage twice. But the only other alternative is that E is not to be accepted as truly representing the text of D at this point. Though we have not been able with entire certainty to determine the source of the quotation which has been discussed at length, we have nevertheless, by these considerations, shown that it is improbable that E is at this place trustworthy. In this way, therefore, we have disposed of that part, at least, of the array of evidence against A which is supposed to be supplied by E.

The testimony of F, which is held to corroborate E, consists in the inclusion, amid the instructions to the Twelve, of Luke 10:7, and of the omission of Luke 10:3-12 where A presents it as a part of D. It is to be particularly noted that F does not support E in its quotation discussed above, upon which Zahn's reconstruction is chiefly based. On the other hand, in one point F agrees with A against E in quoting Luke 10:16 in connection with the instructions to the Seventy. E quotes it (M., p. 94, "qui vos spernit, me spernit"), but rather, it may be argued, as illustrative material than as a part of the text to be commented upon. If the quotation be held to be from Ephraem's exemplar at the point where he is expounding, there is certainly present the disagreement alluded to. The question, therefore, arises as to whether the phenomena of F really corroborate the evidence of E, if there be any, or are only examples of certain characteristics of the compiler of F. It is certainly characteristic of him to make additions and omissions of this kind. Moreover, the conclusion drawn from the omission of Luke 10:3-12 is greatly weakened, if not entirely invalidated, by the fact that not only these verses, which, on the view of Zahn and Hill, ought not to appear, but also verses 13-15, are omitted. E shows no indication that these latter were conflated with the instructions to the Twelve, but A gives their Matthean parallel after Luke 10:12 (A 15:28-30). Now, F agrees with A at this point in the use of the parallel from Matthew rather than the Lukan version, though it

has this material from Matthew in a different position. (This position, differing from that of A, agrees in no way with that of E.) Therefore, since the author of F habitually adds and omits, and since at this particular point he is proved to be altering D, without any possible agreement with E, in that he omits vss. 13-15, as A does, and gives the Matthean material in an unacceptable position, the phenomena of F should probably be reckoned as due to the compiler, and not to his text of D. We might conclude, accordingly, without further discussion, that, in view of F's partial support of A, and since the alleged evidence of F fails E at the critical point of the latter's quotation, therefore F does not corroborate E. But there are two other considerations. First, F's order has an intrinsic improbability. It represents T as having divided, if Zahn and Hill are correct, the speech containing the instructions to the Seventy; as having conflated one part with the similar speech to the Twelve in Matthew; as having changed another part to a position entirely out of its canonical connection; and as having left the mere end of this discourse (Luke 10:16 f.) at the point where A gives the whole speech. Such a procedure is inexplicable whether we view it independently or in the light of Tatian's method. Considered independently, no further remark is needed. On the other hand, Tatian has never elsewhere, so far as can be determined, proceeded so clumsily as the arrangement of F would indicate he had done. Second, F cannot be said to have at this point any thoroughgoing conflation, such as Hill seems to imply, and such as Tatian very often made, since its conflation consists simply in the addition of the one verse, Luke 10:7. Other material from the instructions to the Seventy might have been used, and, according to the general methods of T, evidence of which is still preserved in A, is to be expected in the conflation. These two considerations—the clumsiness and incompleteness of the work of the author of F upon the passages under discussion—strengthen the conclusion already reached, that the phenomena of F are due to the methods of the compiler of F. We have, therefore, no evidence with which to support E, even if the testimony of the latter be given weight.

There still remains the evidence of A, with reference to the conflation of the two discourses under discussion. The force of any allegation based on A, disappears as soon as the supposed testimony is examined. The use of "lambs" (Luke 10:3) as over against "sheep" (Matt. 10:16) is of little significance, since "sheep," not "lambs," is supported by E (M., p. 91, *oves*), and since the difference is but

slight in any case. The touch "two and two" is not due to Luke 10:1 as Hill apparently supposed, but to the Markan parallel account of the sending out of the Twelve (Mark 6:7). Both of these traces are absent from F. The evidence of A in favor of the alleged conflation is, therefore, *nil*.

Taken singly, the witnesses against the order suggested by A, one and all, may be disposed of. In combination, the evidence amounts to the united force of several rather remote possibilities. The evidence of E, which may quite reasonably be explained away by an appeal to Ephraem's looseness in quoting amounts to little more, even when this appeal be waived, than the presence of one word from Luke, chap. 10. The testimony of F, which is derived from the occurrence of phenomena very probably due to the compiler of the Latin harmony, does not corroborate E at the critical point, though the phenomena upon which it is based may be interpreted so as to give some plausibility to the conclusion drawn from the testimony of E. There can hardly be said to be any corroboration by A of any particular point of E or F, and only the most meager sort in any general way, viz., the possible significance of the use of "lambs." On the other hand, over against these remote possibilities of corroboration there are the slight disagreements of E and F, and the more pronounced difference between A and F, which were mentioned above. Therefore, even when we combine the evidence of the several witnesses, their corroboration is weakened by mutual disagreement, and the opinion of Zahn and Hill can be regarded as no more than possibly correct. Independently considered, the witnesses fall to the ground. The probable conclusion of the whole matter is this: The general excellence of A as a witness for the order of D—at most this is the only passage where A does not correctly represent D—makes it probable, in view of the weakness of the evidence of the other witnesses here that at this point as well as elsewhere A is to be trusted.

Whatever may be concluded, the extreme limit to be regarded in any appeal to these sections of A is this: We must not draw conclusions from the presence of Luke 10:3-12 in its present position in A. If this limitation be observed, we shall be safe in any other use of A. The only use of the section in this paper is that on p. 60, which is not invalidated by the above conclusion but would be made even more valuable, were the view just opposed correct.

V. *A*, chaps. 25-27 = *Matt.*, chap. 18 = *Zahn*, §§ 45-50 = *M.*, pp. 162-65.—It was impossible for Zahn to reconstruct, from Ephraem's

fragmentary quotations, an order of T's distribution of Matt., chap. 18 which would have been compatible with the order in A. He recognized the difficulty of his situation when he says (*in loco*): "Die Zusammensetzung dieser Perikope ist nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben." Had he had access to A, he would have seen that the quotations in E, though few, are in precisely the order which these texts occupy in A, though that order is quite remarkable. Instead, therefore, of conflicting with A, E gives to it peculiarly strong corroboration. Furthermore, so far as Matt. 18: 10, 11 is concerned, with which Zahn had such great difficulty (*vide in loco*), F also supports A's arrangement. These facts have only to be stated and it will be concluded that A is correct here.

VI. A 33: 1-17 = Mark 11: 19-26 = Zahn, § 61 = M., pp. 182-89.—In the arrangement of material here, E, A, and F each give a different order:

E.	A.	F.
1. The cursing of the fig tree.	1. The cursing of the fig tree.	2. The visit of Nicodemus.
3. The lesson.	2. The visit of Nicodemus.	1. The cursing of the fig tree.
2. The visit of Nicodemus.	3. The lesson from the tree.	3. The lesson.
4. The parable of the unjust judge.	4. The parable of the unjust judge.	4. The parable of the unjust judge.

The three witnesses agree in presenting Tatian as having brought together passages widely separated in our gospels and, therefore, in a general way A is supported as correct. The representation of A is that the fig tree was cursed (1) on a certain day in the evening of which Nicodemus made his visit (2). The next morning, as the disciples passed the tree on their way to the city and noticed its condition, Jesus drew the lesson (3) from it. To this lesson is attached the parable of the unjust judge (4). This order of events may easily be supposed to have been suggested to Tatian by his Markan source, in which 1 and 3 occur on successive days. A's order is, therefore, by no means impossible in the light of T's sources. Moreover, if A be supposed to preserve the original order, that of E and F may be explained as derivations. There would be the constant temptation to change the order of A by bringing together the separated elements 1 and 3. On the hypothesis that Mark was used by the author of the first gospel, precisely this change has been made by him. Ephraem and the author of F fell into this temptation. Ephraem made the combination of separated elements by putting 3 before 2; the author of F, by placing 2 before 1. The temptation in the case of Ephraem was especially strong,

since in lecturing it would be most logical and convenient to conclude the comments on both 1 and 3 before passing to the remainder of the passage. In the case of the not over-keen compiler of F the temptation was likely to be yielded to at once—possibly under the influence of Matthew—because of his inability to see the superior order which is preserved by A. In contrast to this ready derivation of E and F from A is the difficulty of supposing either E or F to be the original from which the other orders are derived. Indeed, there is an incongruity in E's arrangement, since it separates 3 and 4, though the presence of 4 in this part of D can be explained alone by its fitness immediately to follow 3. Besides these considerations, there is the evidence deduced by combining the several witnesses in groups of two. E and A agree against F in giving 2 some position after 1. A and F agree against E for the placing of 3 immediately before 4 and after 2. Thus for each of the elements of its order, save the separation of 1 and 3, A has the support of one of the other witnesses, while these other witnesses disagree as to all elements except 4, as to which all the witnesses agree. Therefore, since A is shown to be correct by its combinations with now E, now F, for the just-mentioned relations of items, and since E and F mutually disagree as well as differ from A as regards 1 and 3, and since A's order is intrinsically superior, while at the same time giving rise to the above-mentioned temptation to alter it, we are forced to conclude in favor of A in the whole arrangement.²⁹ Whether, therefore, we examine A on its own merits, or group the witnesses, we are brought to the same result, viz., A's order correctly presents that of D.

We have now considered all of the six passages wherein the reconstructed text of D, made by Zahn, differs in order from A. On thorough investigation, it develops that there are few real differences, and, with one possible exception (IV, above), A is everywhere to be trusted as correctly preserving the order of D. We have, therefore, certain ground in A's order of sections.

δ) We may, accordingly, turn our attention to the details of the text. Of the extant witnesses to the text of D A is the only one that can be used as a satisfactory basis for our study. The remains in E and Aph.³⁰ are too fragmentary for such use. F³¹ is in no sense a

²⁹ For an extended, but not always convincing, discussion of all the differences between A and E see H. A., App. IX, to which the above examination is much indebted.

³⁰ The quotations of D in Syrian Fathers other than Aphraates have not yet been made accessible to any considerable extent. Zahn has made some references in his notes, and these have been considered herein. J. R. Harris (Har. C.) has collected from the writings of Ishodad quotations of E in which there are some remains of D. These quotations, however, hardly suggest that the results of this investigation would be appreciably affected by further discoveries in Syrian patristic literature.

³¹ The view of F now commonly held is that which was suggested above, viz., it is a secondary com-

translation of T's gospel, and is entirely untrustworthy for the recovery of details of text. The very fact that its author did not translate the text of D, but used the corresponding passages of the Vulgate Latin text, is enough to deprive this witness of any decisive weight in estimating the value of any particular reading. The additional fact of the undisputed incompleteness of F, when taken together with the foregoing, makes it quite impossible to regard F as either a satisfactory or complete basis for investigation (*cf.* H_j, p. 58). This conclusion leaves A as the only remaining extant witness which we can use for this purpose. This witness is a translation made directly from the original language of D, and preserves D, so far as can be determined, without any large omission. It is sufficiently satisfactory and complete, therefore, to serve as a basis with which to compare whatever evidence Aph. and E have to offer in determining the reliability of any given passage. In such a comparison, however, Aph. and E are generally to be regarded as better witnesses than A. There are two reasons for such an estimate: (1) both Aph. and E are much older than A; (2) their readings, together and independently, show themselves less influenced than those of A by the known sources of the transmissional corruption of D. Accordingly, if the testimony of E or Aph. for a given passage is contrary to that of A, the latter must be rejected, unless there is some specific reason for setting aside the former. Such reasons are sometimes to be appealed to; for example, the testimony of E or Aph. should be rejected when it, rather than that of A, has been influenced by known tendencies of transmissional corruption. We may, therefore, use A as our basic text, but we must give due consideration to Aph. and E.

But we must go further if we are to have perfect confidence in our text. A study of the text of D, whether as represented by E or A,²² in comparison with the text of Syriac and Arabic versions, and with variants of the Greek gospels; the consideration of the possible unfaithfulness of the Arabic translator; and the possibility of corruption in the transmission of A itself, create the necessity of considering how far the text of D, as we possess it, may be trusted.

pilation made by arranging sections of the Vulgate Latin text of the gospels, in the order in which the corresponding material stands in D. But the work was clumsily done and T's order has not always been followed with fidelity. Indeed, there are many serious departures. (See H.^a, pp. 17-20; Z.^a, pp. 298-313.) Later writers have not agreed with Zahn (p. 310) that "innerhalb einzelner Perikopen ist selbst die feinere Mosaikearbeit des Originals, wenn auch unvollkommen, in F wiederzuerkennen." Zahn's opinion is based upon a fragmentary comparison of E and F. Had he been able to use A, his conclusions could scarcely have been different from that of scholars who have written since Ciasca's publication of A (*cf.* H_j, p. 58).

²² For an investigation with E as the basis, see Z.^a, I, pp. 220-38; with A as the basis, see Sel.

Such consideration leads at once to an estimation of the amount of influence exerted upon the text of D by Syriac versions which are admittedly later than D. There has been noted a marked tendency to harmonize the text of D with these versions, in particular P. It follows, therefore, that any passage whose phenomena—deviations from our gospel text—are the same as those of the corresponding passages of these versions must be set aside, so far as our study is concerned, since any deviation from the Greek gospels which may appear in such a passage may be due to the influence of these later versions, not to Tatian. I have collated all the passages used in this paper, and their variations from the gospels can in no case be referred to the influence under discussion. For collation with P, I have used the Syriac text of Pusey. A comparison with S^ϕ is impossible, since there is no certainly attested witness for the gospels of this version. The only information of such a witness that we possess may be stated in two sentences. First, Bernstein (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 1853, referred to by Nestle in the article "Syriac Versions" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*) claims that the text of this version exists in Cod. A₂ of the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome. Second, Isaac N. Hall published in 1884 a work, *Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a Pre-Harklensian Version, etc.*, maintaining²³ that there were manuscripts in this country that contain the gospels of S^ϕ. Such information, however, furnishes no accessible text of S^ϕ for the gospels. In spite of the consequent impossibility of a comparison with this version, however, no great uncertainty will attend our results. S^ϕ never exerted a large influence in any direction, so far as the gospels are concerned. Witness its failure to be preserved, and the fact that the Harklensian revision of it entirely usurped its place. Moreover, by the sixth century, in which S^ϕ had its origin, and probably its brief life, D had probably been driven from public use, at least in other than Nestorian churches (*cf.* H_j., pp. 25-49 *passim*) and, since in this case D would be less often copied, there would be relatively small chance of any corruption of D. Still further improbability of any considerable influence of S^ϕ upon D may be inferred by analogy from the very small influence of S^θ, of which mention is made below. There is, therefore, almost no probability, not to say possibility, that S^ϕ affected D in transmission to any appreciable extent. We need not, accordingly, be deeply concerned at our inability to make use of it. With

²³C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, II, 501-5, does not commit himself with reference to Hall's view, but implies that he thinks it is plausible.

respect to S^o Sellin (Sel., p. 237) says that its influence may be detected "wenn auch nur in geringem Grade." In his treatment of the matter, he presents only twenty passages (Tabelle III) from the whole range of D in which there may be an influence of S^o.²⁴ None of these passages will be found among those which we use below in illustrating T's method. Our results have been still further guarded by an examination of all passages in the light of the variants of S^o which are noted in Tisch.²⁵ Accordingly, in the passages which are used below to indicate T's literary habits we may be sure there are no traces of the influence of S^o. With regard, therefore, to the harmonization of D with all three of the later Syriac versions, our results have been safeguarded.

But besides the tendency to harmonize in this way, there has been noted another—the filling in of words, phrases, and sentences originally omitted in D, and the excising of words, phrases, and sentences originally contained in D to conform in both cases to the Syriac separate gospels. The knowledge of this, however, can affect our results in only one direction. It cannot shake our confidence in the passages, which we have used, for these passages present, not agreements, but disagreements with the text of the separate gospels. It can lead only to the very obvious conclusion that where D differs from the text of the Greek gospels either by omission or addition, and such differences cannot be explained as due to any specific textual influence, they are to be ascribed to Tatian, for it is contrary to the tendency of the scribes to let such differences remain. We are aided, then, rather than limited, in our work by the knowledge of this tendency. We may pass on, therefore, at least without any fear that it can vitiate our results. Indeed, we may feel confident that our results are not invalidated by any corrupting influences proceeding from the later Syriac versions.

There is ever present, however, the possibility that A has been corrupted by influences to which it is liable as an Arabic version of D. As a translation A is but one remove from the original, for, as noted above, recent scholars of prominence, with the exception of Harnack, agree that T composed D in Syriac.²⁶ Moreover, the faithfulness of

²⁴ Sellin refers to the Harklensian version as the Philoxenian, apparently following the suggestion of the title of WHITE's edition of S^o. He nowhere states that he is using White, but seems to reveal it in this note: "P=Phil.; wo die Uebersetzung White's falsch ist" (p. 240).

²⁵ Tischendorf designates S^o in the edition of his work which I have used as syr P., but cf. GREGORY, *Prolegomena*, p. 824, footnote.

²⁶ "Es darf hiernach als bewiesen angesehen werden, dass das dem Tatian zugeschriebene Diatessaron von Haus aus ein syrisches Buch war" (Z.⁴, p. 238; cf. HJ., pp. 22, 23).

this direct translation is attested by those who have investigated the subject thoroughly. Harnack, to be sure, throws suspicion upon this faithfulness. He describes A, along with two other elaborations of D (see Hrk.^c, I, pp. 495 f.)—the Latin, viz., F, and the alleged Greek fragments which are supposed, but without warrant, to have been the basis of Nachtigall's translation—as *sehr frei*. It is quite impossible, however, to believe that this opinion rests upon such thorough investigation as the great Berlin scholar is wont to prosecute before reaching his conclusions. How he could arrive at such a conclusion as that just stated, when there is no Greek witness²⁷ to D, which on his theory would be the original, is certainly difficult to conceive. The mere fact that he classes A with F without any distinction—not to mention the association of A with Nachtigall's work—and estimates their value as translations in the same generalizing terms, will show at once to anyone who studies the subject that his statements are based on no thorough digestion of the facts gained by such investigation. Sellin says (Sel., p. 243) of the Arabic translator: "Der Uebersetzer verfährt also nicht knechtisch aber *treu*." In this judgment Hjelt concurs (Hj., pp. 65–70). Moreover, in addition to the opinion of scholars, further confidence is given by a consideration of the excellent abilities of the well-known translator, Ibn-at-Tayib. This confidence, and the fact that each passage used below has been examined to determine that its peculiarities are not due to the exigencies of the Arabic language, free our conclusions from uncertainty with regard to the possibility that the text has been corrupted by translation. But the possibility of a corruption of the text of A under the influence of Arabic versions has still to be considered. The variant readings of the two manuscripts of A show no marked tendency to harmonize A with the Arabic versions.²⁸ Indeed, no specific similarity between the text of A and the peculiar readings of these versions has been pointed out by scholars. But whatever the possibility of such harmonization, its effect has been eliminated for us by a comparison of our passages with Arabic variants noted in Tisch. As in the comparison with the Syriac versions, the principle has been adopted here also, that a possible influence of the version is enough to exclude passages agreeing with it in any of its peculiarities. As concerns the transmission of A, as affected by other influences than the

²⁷ The translation—published by OTTMAR NACHTIGALL (1523)—of alleged Greek fragments can scarcely be used as such. Harnack himself implies doubt as to the character of this work (see Hrk.^c, I, pp. 495, 496). For a full discussion see Z.^a, pp. 313–28.

²⁸ But *cf.* the adverse, but unsupported statement of Hj., p. 61.

Arabic versions of the separate gospels, it seems to have been free from any considerable impurity. To be sure, the two manuscripts of A, when compared with each other, show some different readings, but these are quite unimportant in character, since they can generally be explained by appealing to the simplest kinds of scribal error and affect only a very few of the passages used below. Such as they are, they are consultable in Csc., and in every passage which we consider their bearing upon our conclusions may be estimated. Whether, therefore, we consider the value of A as a translation, or the transmission of A under the possible influence of Arabic versions and other sources of corruption, we are able to proceed, with proper limitations, free from any appreciable uncertainty because of the possibility of corruptions in A from such influences as might have been exerted upon it as an Arabic translation.

Now that we have considered Syriac versions and Arabic influences, there remains in Column II, 2, above, (p. 11) but one item—Greek variants. There is always the possibility, though this is often slight, that any extant variation of the Greek gospels may have influenced the transmission of D in any or all of its witnesses. This has made it necessary to compare every passage with the variants to the text of the Greek gospels in Tisch., and to exclude all whose peculiarities agree with any of these variants.

The conclusion that we may now draw with reference to the influence of the transmission of the texts of D upon our results is this: A has preserved a text which must be limited, if results based upon it are to be received with confidence. But it is possible to make every limitation that safety demands, and such limitations have been made in this investigation. The portions of text which have been used below are in all probability absolutely free from every kind of influence which can be proved or inferred to have corrupted D in transmission.

But if the certainty that our text is pure is to be paralleled by a similar certainty as to the conclusions derived in our study of that text, we must give some consideration to the items of Column I above. The larger part of our work is to determine what phenomena in our text are due to T's literary method. It can be accomplished only when we have eliminated all the phenomena due to the possible influence of the other two sources—the variants of the Greek gospels, and of the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac versions—upon the texts which Tatian used as a source. A comparison of the text of D with the corresponding portions of the Greek gospels will reveal how far T

deviates from his sources, provided these deviations cannot be attributed to some outside influence such as those discussed above. In such a comparison, however, we cannot confine ourselves to any particular form of the Greek text, but must take into account every extant variation of any given passage; for we cannot be absolutely sure that any such variant was not in T's exemplars.²⁹ Any deviations that remain after taking into account these variants must be admitted not to be due to T's Greek sources. There is, nevertheless, one further consideration. The four gospels differed from each other. This fact makes it impossible to decide in some instances whether certain deviations of D from the text of a gospel, which at a given point is his chief source, are really due to T, or are to be attributed to another of the gospels. In such a case we cannot tell whether T has changed his one source, or has simply mixed material from two or more. It is necessary, therefore, to proceed on the basis that every passage in D that is like any one of the sources must be assigned to that source. This may eliminate true examples of T's method of alteration — with our method of procedure we still have illustrations of conflation — but it is the safest course to pursue. This is the last limitation with regard to T's Greek exemplars that we need to make.

We may pass on, then, to consider those passages of D in which there is agreement with the text of the S^a and S^c. The chronological relation of these versions to D is still *sub judice*.³⁰ But whatever the outcome of the investigation of this relation may prove to be, it cannot affect our discussion. If we suppose D later than S^a and S^c, and that T used them for his work, we must exclude all variations of D which agree with these versions as not due to T's literary method but to his exemplars. Or, if we suppose D to be older than S^a and S^c, we have to reckon the agreeing passages as at least possibly harmonized with later versions and so for the sake of certainty exclude them, as illustrations of T's method. In other words, these versions must be viewed, on our second supposition, as bearing the same relation to D as do P, S^φ, and S^θ; and must be treated accordingly. We are therefore in either supposition under the necessity of excluding these passages. Accordingly, the quotations from D used below have been col-

²⁹ On this ground it makes no practical difference what edition of the Greek texts is quoted below, since only those passages have been used that have no variants for the words affecting the illustration. Tischendorf's text has as a matter of fact been quoted as the logical accompaniment of the use of his apparatus. (See, however, note, p. 60.)

³⁰ The latest statement on this question is that of Hjelt, who concludes that the text of D indicates that it originated after S^a, but before S^c. For a summary of opinions see N.

lated with S^a and S^b, and the necessary exclusions have been made.^{3*} This limitation made, we have left in our text only phenomena due to T's literary method.

The results of the entire discussion of the text of D, as regards detailed readings, may be summarized in the statement of a few principles to be applied in the use of each passage cited below. In every case the testimony of all the witnesses—save that of F, which “hat . . . natürlich so gut wie nichts zu bieten” (Hj., p. 58)—must be considered and the limitations discussed above applied. A, however, is the basis. The other documents are to be used as corroborative or as checks. Where A is supported by E and Aph. we are on quite certain ground. The reading is almost equally certain where A is supported by either of the other two when the non-corroborating witness is silent. A unsupported is trustworthy if E and Aph. are silent, and if the limitations noted above are diligently applied. The combined testimony of A and Aph., and sometimes the independent evidence of A, if unquestioned on other grounds, cannot be rejected because opposed to E, for Ephraem's looseness in quoting is notorious (H.^b, pp. 18–25), and because E sometimes shows corrupting transmissional influences where the others do not. Thus any reading may be confidently accepted if it has the support of A, Aph., and E; or of A with either E or Aph. in the absence of adverse testimony from one or the other; or of A alone in the absence of contrary evidence; or of A and Aph. against E; or sometimes of A against E. The application of these principles leaves almost no margin for error in the details of the text. We may be sure, therefore, that we have as great certainty in our use of details as in that of general order.

4. The method of procedure to be followed in our discussion has been, for the most part, already incidentally indicated in the preceding investigation of our text. Some further notes will be useful. The Greek quotations herein used are from Tischendorf's *Ed. VIII., Critica Major* (cf. footnote, p. 30). No Arabic or Syriac texts have been printed. The passages quoted from A are taken from Hogg's translation, which is better than either Ciasca's Latin or Hill's English rendering—Hill's is directly dependent upon Ciasca's—and is therefore the best existing translation of A in an easily accessible language. The translation in each of the passages quoted has been verified, and but slight and few changes have been found necessary. References to Syriac texts may be tested, by any who do not use the Syriac itself, by examining the Latin

^{3*} The texts used in this collation are (1) Cur., (2) Ben., and (3) Lew.

translation of P accompanying the edition of that version, which is mentioned above in a footnote and in the bibliography ; the English rendering of Cureton accompanying his edition of the Old Syriac ; and the English translation of S ³, which has been made by Mrs. Lewis, and which accompanies her retranscription of some of the pages of this version. The reference numbers to A have been explained above. In the right-hand margin of the pages of Hogg's work are printed the numbers assigning the portions of text to the several gospels, which numbers appear in the Arabic text as printed by Ciasca. Caution is necessary, however, for these references are not always exact in details. Examination is in every case necessary to determine the correctness of the assignment.

CHAPTER I.

TATIAN'S PREFERENCE FOR ONE SOURCE OR ANOTHER.

WE are now in a position to proceed with the investigation of the manner in which T treated his sources in composing D, and on the basis of such an investigation to determine the degree of similarity between his method and that which according to the documentary theory of the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another, was employed by the authors of the resultant gospels. The bulk of our work will be concerned with T's method. This must be determined first. A comparison of it with that ascribed to the synoptists will be reserved for the last chapter.

The first step in our investigation will be to discover whether Tatian gave primary authority to one of his sources or to another, and if so, to which one. Zahn (*Z.*^a, pp. 260-63) favors the view that he followed John most closely, and this opinion is concurred in, but apparently without independent investigation, by Hill and B. W. Bacon (see *H.*^a, p. 27, and *Ba.*). On the other hand, G. F. Moore claims that this opinion is not correct, but rather Tatian follows Matt. (see *Mo.*). Zahn's view has been overstated by Hill and Bacon, and apparently misapprehended by Moore. Zahn says: "Er hat seine Schema vom Gang der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu, wie gezeigt wurde und eigentlich selbstverständlich ist, sowie Jemand den Versuch einer Verarbeitung aller vier Evangelien macht, hauptsächlich aus Johannes gewonnen" (p. 261). But the context shows quite clearly that Zahn hardly meant more than that Tatian got from John his chronological data for the construction of his work. He implies this quite distinctly by the statement, which occurs a few lines below the passage quoted above, viz.: "Also mit einem Wort das ganze chronologische Fachwerk hat er aus Johannes." Outside of these data, according to Zahn, preference was given no more to John than to the other evangelists. "Aber dem Johannes wie den Synoptikern gegenüber geht er von der Voraussetzung aus, dass jeder Evangelist sei es aus Unkenntnis des geschichtlichen Sachverhalts, sei es in Rücksicht auf sachliche Verwandtschaft, und lehrhafte Zweckmäßigkeit vielfach eine andere Anordnung als die der zeitlichen Abfolge der Ereignisse gewählt habe." Yet these passages (and perhaps similar remarks) have been interpreted to mean that, not only in the gen-

eral chronological scheme based on the data of the feasts, but in details of arrangement as well, T followed John quite rigidly. On this understanding of Zahn—or rather misunderstanding—Bacon has maintained that the apparent changes in the order of Johannine material in D are not changes at all, but reflect the order of John in T's exemplar. He contends that in this order there is external evidence for that arrangement of the fourth gospel which, on internal evidence, certain modern scholars have proposed as original for the fourth gospel. Such are the views which have been held with respect to Tatian's attitude toward his several sources.

To arrive at a correct conclusion as to whether T preferred one source consistently, it will be necessary to set forth the evidence and let the foregoing opinions, or any others, stand or fall in the light of it. The gospel of John, on account of the views connected with it, will be treated separately. The synoptic gospels may be considered together.

The evidence regarding these latter is abundant and clear. Only samples of it need be cited. Mark is preferred to Matthew in A 20:17-37. Thus we have Matthew subordinated. Matt. 8:14-17 (= A 6:48-52) is brought in D to the same position which is given to the parallel material in Mark and Luke, and the Matthean account of the healing of the paralytic, who was borne by four, is similarly subordinated, since it has the same position as in Mark and Luke. On the other hand, Matthew's testimony controls the placing (A 11:24-12:32) of Matt. 8:18-9:26 = Mark 4:35-5:43 = Luke 8:22-56 + Luke 9:57a, 59-62 (this last being introduced in a striking way), since all this material is given before Mark 3:31-4:20 and its Lukan parallel. Thus Mark and Luke are subordinated to Matthew. Luke alone is likewise subordinated to Matthew in the internal structure of the account of the temptation. All three synoptics are subordinated to T's general plan by his giving to (Matt. 8:2-4 =)³⁰ Mark 1:41-45a = Luke 5:12-16, a position (A 22:1-8) quite original with himself. Other examples of this variety of preference and subordination could be given, but it is unnecessary. It is clear enough from these that no one of the synoptists is given constant preference. A graphic idea of T's treatment of the gospels in this respect can be gotten, almost at a glance from H.², Appendix II, where he has printed in *italics* the numbers referring to gospel material which is represented by parallels only (especially if Appendix I be compared). If some of the passages there given be examined along with those presented above, it will be

³⁰ Not used in T's conflation.

found that T's preferences now for one gospel, now for another, extend both to details within sections and to the order of the sections. Since this is true of the subordination of Matthew as well as of that of Mark and Luke, G. F. Moore's view must be pronounced incorrect. Tatian prefers Matthew no more than Mark or Luke as his constantly pre-eminent source. The result of a consideration of the synoptic gospels is, therefore, quite clear.

To determine T's attitude toward Johannine material, a much more detailed investigation is necessary. It will be conducive to clearness to prosecute the study in two stages, the first in regard to the order, and the second in regard to the inner composition of sections. With respect to order, Zahn is correct in saying that T got his chronological data from John. But such a statement has no more significance than to say that Tatian accepted the historical validity of John's statements concerning the feasts. It is difficult to see from which other of his sources T would have derived these items if he wanted to use them. But even this small amount of accuracy, which attaches to the statements of Zahn and those who follow him, must be granted only with a modification. As is shown by the analytical outline of D given in the next chapter, the scheme of feasts is reconstructed by T. The Passover of John 2:13 is not the first Passover in Jesus' career, but the second. Accordingly, it must be said that, though T does draw the items concerning the feasts from the only one of his sources which contained them, nevertheless he subordinates even these to a plan which he himself has conceived after a study of the gospel history. Furthermore, even in their reconstructed order T does not use these items as the articulations of the parts of his gospel. The language of Zahn, therefore, even when interpreted in the least rigid way, conveys an impression, as it apparently did to Hill and Bacon, not supported by the evidence of D itself. It is scarcely true that "das ganze chronologische Fachwerk hat er aus Johannes." Zahn's opinion, therefore, must be modified, and even when modified, scarcely approaches an exact expression of the truth concerning T's attitude toward his sources.

Yet, in spite of this, Bacon has used Zahn's statements as the basis of his own supplementary view. Assuming that he had correctly understood Zahn's language, and that, so interpreted, it was correct, he has proceeded without any detailed support of his general ground to draw his conclusion. This conclusion assumes that T was not skilful enough to see the fitness of the order which he gives to the

several sections, and therefore the order given must be that of his exemplar. But such an assumption, even when flanked by Bacon's argument that no other church father ever perceived this fitness, is scarcely permissible. Tatian's acuteness with regard to the only specific passage concerned will be discussed below, but here it is to be noted that in many other directions as well it is quite remarkable. He has succeeded quite as well as most modern harmonists (*cf.* H.², App. I), and better than many. He may not have solved his problems to the satisfaction of everyone any more than harmonists usually do, but that he in general perceived the problems, no one who reads the *Diatessaron* can deny. It is not enough to show, as Bacon thinks he has done, and as indeed is here and there true,³³ that Tatian was not as acute as some modern scholars in regard to this point or that. Such procedure does not prove inherent incapacity. To be sure, T was not omniscient, but does this prove that he was unable to see what, save for Bacon's assumption, the arrangement of Johannine material in D shows that he did see? If a man's acuteness is to be judged by his ability to see everything, and if he is to be condemned without further hearing because he fails here and there, what modern scholar's acumen will stand unimpeached under the test? If T was dull, this must be proved, not assumed. Such evidence as Bacon produces is insufficient against that which meets one on nearly every page of D, and which can be seen, almost at a glance, from the outline in the next chapter.

But, aside from this lack of positive evidence for the support of the assumption that T was dull, there are difficulties which lead to a negation of Bacon's proposition which he bases on Zahn's statements. These difficulties are entirely overlooked by Professor Bacon, yet, in the light of the evidence, are quite insuperable. For his theory to be valid, the order of Johannine material in D, the "external evidence," must agree with the reconstructed order of John supported by the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. This agreement must be complete, else the theory will fall to the ground, since, if it be incomplete, there is no way of determining where Tatian changed the order of his exemplar, and where he did not. Admit that he changed any passages, and you must admit more than the possibility of his having changed others. Since this is true, the difficulties mentioned above show two things: first, that in one direction the "external evidence," which Bacon claims, proves too

³³ Note in particular Tatian's failure to perceive the difficulty which exists between the synoptic and Johannine accounts as to the date of the crucifixion.

much; second, that in another direction it does not prove enough. It proves too much, for Tatian's arrangement differs at many points from an order which might be expected from the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. And not only does the order presented by D differ from the modern scholars' reconstructed arrangement of John, but this order of D has in it phenomena (abruptness and lack of transition) which, according to modern critical science, would lead immediately to a reconstruction of it. For example, how can we grant the presence in the original John of such abruptness, such lack of transition, as, on the hypothesis that D preserves the original Johannine order, exists between John 6:71 and 4:4?³⁴ How could John 4:45b have connected John 5:47 and John 7:1? How could we explain the presence of John 5:1 (A 30:31) between John 7:31 (A 28:32) and the repetition of this verse at A 34:48, or even its presence between the first occurrence of 7:31 and the next Johannine verse (7:32) of A, in case we were able to satisfy ourselves as to the repetition? Or, even if we eliminate John 5:1 by supposing that this verse of A (30:31) is to be assigned to John 2:13,³⁵ nevertheless the presence of any such statement would raise the same difficulty. Or, if we could take an additional step—which, however, we cannot—and rid our text of any statement such as this which implies a journey from and a return to Jerusalem between the utterances of two closely connected verses (John 7:31 and 7:32), how could we explain the still remaining difficulty of the connection of John 7:31 (A 28:32) and John 2:14 (A 32:1)? As we look at this cumulative pyramid of impossibilities connected with this one point—not to speak of the other occurrences of abruptness—we are brought face to face with the insuperableness of the difficulties in the way of Bacon's view. But even were we able to give satisfactory explanation to these matters, we would still have to face the quite impossible task of explaining how the original order of John in T's exemplar, got into its present arrangement in our fourth gospel. Many a modern scholar has been staggered by his inability to give explanation of how the material of the fourth gospel became disarranged from the order of John reconstructed by critics, and got into that of our extant gospel. But

³⁴ D presents Johannine material in the following order. John 1:1-5 + (1:6 omitted) 1:7-28 + 1:29-31 + 1:32-34 + 1:35-51 + 2:1-11 + 3:22-4:3a + 4:46-54 + 2:23b-25 + 6:1-71 (with this section synoptic material is conflated) + 4:4-45a + 5:1-47 + 4:45b + 7:1 + 7:2-10a + 7:10b-31 + 5:1 (?) + 2:14-22 + 3:1-21 + 7:31-52 (note the repetition of vs. 31). From this point on there is no difference between T's order and that of our fourth gospel. The + sign indicates intervening synoptic material.

³⁵ For a full discussion of this matter see chap. vii, below.

in the case of a change from the order presented by D, the problem is far more difficult. Bacon attempts no explanation. Whether, therefore, we consider simply the existence of the deviations of D's order, which are not paralleled in that made on the internal evidence of John, or the nature of these deviations in themselves and in relation to the present order of the fourth gospel, we reach the irresistible conclusion that Bacon's hypothesis will not stand. And not only is this true. The lack in the "external" evidence prevents it from proving enough. In all the points involved, save one, viz., the transposition of John, chaps. 5 and 6, the order preserved in D differs from that constructed on the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. In the face of this fact, therefore, as well as before the consideration of the number and nature of D's deviations, the view which we are opposing falls.

But against this conclusion it may be argued that in the transposition of chaps. 5 and 6 at least we have "external" corroboration of the view of some modern scholars. But the validity of this objection cannot be maintained. If it is shown that T changed his exemplar constantly, then it is certainly probable that in this one place the transposition is due to his conception of the fitness of the order, not to his exemplar. As said above, *ex hypothesi*, no changes are to be admitted, or all differences of order are to be attributed to T's alterations. This general argument, moreover, is strengthened by several examples of Tatian's acuteness. The first is his clear recognition that the agreement of much of the discourse material in Matthew and Luke was significant. Such passages T assigned to the same occasion; not, as many do, to different connections. He brings together the Matthean and Lukan versions of the Sermon on the Mount, and much other material as well. (Cf. H.^a, App. I and II.) In this matter, at least, he antedates many moderns; and this fact disposes of Bacon's general argument against T's acuteness. In addition to this, however, Tatian shows himself keenly alert at precisely the time when he is determining the position which he will give to chap. 5. The visit to Jerusalem of John, chap. 5, has been determined by Tatian to have preceded that of John 2:13. He therefore is compelled to transpose the clause, John 4:45b, to a position after chap. 5, because until this latter has been presented there has been given no account of Jesus' being at Jerusalem. In placing chap. 6 he has done precisely what we should expect of him. He has conflated it with the parallel synoptic material and, having done this, has given

to the whole account a position suggested by his synoptic sources. Therefore, in the light of his treatment of these two chapters, there is no more ground for Bacon's view than in the case of any part of John. The transposition just discussed falls into line with all the rest of the evidence, and if it did not, it would hardly be sufficient ground for the theory that Bacon has advanced.

The sum of the whole matter is that Bacon has assumed too much on the basis of a misunderstanding of Zahn's language. The facts³⁶ brought out in our discussion are too considerable and important to allow the acceptance of his theory. They clearly show that Tatian reconstructed his Johannine material, rather than that he persistently followed the order of the fourth gospel.

This conclusion with reference to general order is paralleled by that which is to be drawn from the evidence concerning T's use of Johannine material in the inner composition of sections. An investigation of the passages of A where T has identified John's accounts with those of the synoptists will at once reveal the subordination of the former to the latter. These passages are as follows: the account of John the Baptist's ministry (A 3:37—4:27; *cf.* A 4:28—41 and 5:4—20); the feeding of five thousand (A 18:21—43); the triumphal entry (A 39:18—45); the anointing at Bethany (A 39:1—17), the Last Supper (and connected events and speeches, A 44:10—47:44); the arrest of Jesus (A 48:22—43); events immediately following the arrest (A 48:44—49:18); the trial before Pilate (A 49:43—51:6); the crucifixion (A 51:15—52:13); and the burial (A 52:21—44). In every case, save one, there is not the slightest trace of a complete preference for John, and in almost all of the instances there is decisive evidence of a subordination of Johannine to synoptic material or to T's own general plan. The usual method of procedure was to use one of the synoptics for the framework of a narrative or discourse, to fit other material into this, and to employ from John in this process only such as is peculiar to the fourth gospel. The evidence leads us to a conclusion precisely the reverse of the proposition that T preferred John to the other gospels.

The above views concerning T's attitude toward his sources, as regards both the general order and inner composition of sections, must therefore be pronounced incorrect, or modified according to the evidence which has now been presented.

The result of the investigation with which this chapter began has, for the most part, been incidentally shown in the foregoing refutation

³⁶ Bacon nowhere presents the facts, and that he had them before him is hard to believe.

- d)* Beginning to preach - - - - - 5:42-43
e) Call of the four - - - - - 5:44-6:4
f) Continuation of tour in Judea - - - - - 6:5-19

PERIOD II.

- a)* Return from Judea to Cana, and performance of second miracle - - - - - 6:20-34
b) Preaching tour in Galilee - - - - - 6:35
 2. Journeys with Capernaum as headquarters - - - 6:36-27:47

PERIOD I.

- a)* Removal to Capernaum, performance of miracles, call of Matthew - - - - - 6:36-54
b) Tour of Galilee - - - - - 7:1-10

PERIOD II.

- a)* Return to Capernaum, and curing of the paralytic borne by four - - - - - 7:11-24
b) Call of Levi and feast at his house - - - - - 7:25-36
c) Sabbath controversies - - - - - 7:37-53
d) Withdrawal from Capernaum - - - - - 8:1-17
e) Call of the Twelve - - - - - 8:18-25
f) Sermon on the Mount - - - - - 8:26-11:2
g) Descent from the mount - - - - - 11:3

PERIOD III.

- a)* Return to Capernaum, the centurion's servant, the widow of Nain's son - - - - - 11:4-23
b) Pressing call for disciples - - - - - 11:24-30
c) Departure to the other side of Galilee, and stilling of the tempest - - - - - 11:31-37
d) The Gadarene demoniac - - - - - 11:38-52

PERIOD IV.

- a)* Return from Gadara to Capernaum - - - - - 12:1-32
b) Blind men and a dumb demoniac cured - - - 12:33-39
c) Sending out of the Twelve - - - - - 12:40-13:29
d) Visit to Mary and Martha - - - - - 13:30-35
e) Visit of John the Baptist's messengers - - - 13:36-43
f) Discourse on John the Baptist - - - - - 13:44-14:14
g) Warnings to scribes and Pharisees - - - - - 14:15-42
h) Return of the Twelve - - - - - 14:43, 44
i) Jesus at Simon the Pharisee's - - - - - 14:45-15:11
j) Widespread belief in Jesus - - - - - 15:12-14
k) Sending out of the Seventy - - - - - 15:15-16:12
l) Effort of Jesus' mother and brothers to see him - 16:13-18

<i>m</i>) Tour of Galilee - - - - -	16:19-21
<i>n</i>) Parables by the seaside - - - - -	16:22-17:35
<i>o</i>) Rejection at Nazareth - - - - -	17:36-53
<i>p</i>) Death of John the Baptist - - - - -	18:1-20
<i>q</i>) Retreat of Jesus from Herod's power - - - - -	18:21-24
<i>r</i>) Feeding of the five thousand - - - - -	18:25-46
<i>s</i>) Jesus' walking on the sea - - - - -	18:47-19:13
<i>t</i>) General healing activity - - - - -	19:14, 15

PERIOD V.

<i>a</i>) Return to Capernaum and rebuke of sign-seeking	19:16-20:11
<i>b</i>) Jesus at dinner, unwashed hands - - - - -	20:12-45
<i>c</i>) Withdrawal toward Tyre and Sidon, the Syro-Phœnician Woman - - - - -	20:46-58
<i>d</i>) Journey through the Decapolis - - - - -	21:1-7
<i>e</i>) Continuation of this journey through Samaria; the Samaritan woman ³⁸ - - - - -	21:8-46
<i>f</i>) Return to Galilee (but not to Capernaum) - - - - -	21:47-49
<i>g</i>) Healing of a leper in a Galilean village - - - - -	22:1-8
<i>h</i>) Journey to Jerusalem; the infirm man at Bethesda - - - - -	22:9-55
<i>i</i>) Return to Galilee; a mountain miracle - - - - -	23:1-4
<i>j</i>) Feeding of the four thousand - - - - -	23:5-12
<i>k</i>) Pharisees and Sadducees demanding a sign - - - - -	23:13-25
<i>l</i>) Blind man at Bethsaida - - - - -	23:26-30
<i>m</i>) Peter's confession at Cæsarea-Philippi - - - - -	23:31-24:1
<i>n</i>) The transfiguration - - - - -	24:2-24
<i>o</i>) Descent from the mount, and reception of warning concerning Herod - - - - -	24:25-29
<i>p</i>) Demoniac boy - - - - -	24:30-47
<i>q</i>) Jesus' forecast of his death and resurrection - - - - -	24:48-52

PERIOD VI.

<i>a</i>) Return to Capernaum; ambition of the Twelve - - - - -	25:1-3
<i>b</i>) The stater in the fish's mouth - - - - -	25:4-7
<i>c</i>) Jesus questioned as to the relative greatness of the Twelve; discourse on humility ³⁹ - - - - -	25:8-26
<i>d</i>) Journey into Perea; question about divorce - - - - -	25:27-42
<i>e</i>) Jesus and the children - - - - -	25:43-46
<i>f</i>) Parables of Grace - - - - -	26:1-33
<i>g</i>) Parable of the Unjust Steward; parable of the Talents - - - - -	26:34-27:29

³⁸ Zahn designates this thus: "Reise durch Samarien [nach Jerusalem]" (Z.¹, p. 258). But this is a journey from the Sidonian region to Galilee.

³⁹ The arrangement of these sections is interesting. Item *a*) brings Jesus and the Twelve back to Galilee, while *b*) is strikingly inserted between *a*) and *c*).

- k) Return to Galilee (not to Capernaum; cf. 27:40), and discourses on the slain Galileans and the fig tree - 27:30-39
- z) The woman healed on the sabbath - - - 27:40-47
- 3. Journeys to and fro between Perea and Jerusalem - 28:1-38:47

PERIOD I. JOURNEY TO ATTEND A FEAST.

- a) Jesus' colloquy with his brothers - - - 28:1-8
- b) Journey through Perea to feast at Jerusalem - - 28:9-41
- c) Return to Perea; rich young man; discourse on riches - - - 28:42-29:42
- d) Jesus at the chief Pharisee's house - - 29:43-30:30

PERIOD II. JOURNEY TO ATTEND FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD.

- a) The journey - - - 30:31-31:52
 - a) The start - - - 30:31
 - β) Cleansing the lepers - - - 30:32-39
 - γ) Jesus' forecast of his death - - - 30:40-45
 - δ) Request of the sons of Zebedee - - - 30:46-52
 - e) Consequent anger of the Ten - - - 31:1-14
 - z) Jesus and Zaccheus at Jericho - - - 31:15-24
 - η) Blind Bartimæus - - - 31:25-35
 - θ) Parable of the Ten Shares - - - 31:36-52
- b) At Jerusalem (during and subsequent to the feast) 32:1-37:42
 - a) First day of the feast - - - 32:1-23
 - Cleansing of the temple; widow's two mites; parable of the Pharisee and Publican; retirement to Bethany.
 - β) Second day - - - 32:24-33:1
 - Cursing the fig tree; visit of Nicodemus; retirement to Bethany.
 - γ) Third day - - - 33:2-34:45
 - Lesson of the fig tree; challenge of Jesus' authority; his reply; plots; questions of Pharisees and Sadducees.
 - δ) Teaching of subsequent days; its results - - 34:46-53
 - e) Seventh day - - - 35:1-37:24
 - Attempt to arrest Jesus; question of Jesus to Pharisees; discourse on light; man born blind; discourse on the Good Shepherd.
 - z) Discourse of Jesus at the Feast of Dedication - 37:25-42
- c) Journey from Jerusalem to Perea; raising of Lazarus - - - 37:43-38:41

PERIOD III. THE LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM - - 38:42-47

- IV. CLOSING EVENTS OF JESUS' CAREER - - - 39:1-55:17
 - 1. Passion Week - - - 39:1-52:44
 - a) Anointing at Bethany - - - 39:1-17

b)	Triumphal entry - - - - -	39:18-45
c)	Jesus in the temple - - - - -	40:1-4
d)	Visit of Greeks - - - - -	40:5-23
e)	Jesus' daily retirement to Bethany - - - - -	40:24, 25
f)	Jesus' arraignment of the Pharisees - - - - -	40:26-41:15
g)	Beginning of plots - - - - -	41:16-26
h)	Saying concerning the destruction of the temple, and its consequences - - - - -	41:27-32
i)	Discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem - - - - -	41:33-43:58
j)	Jesus' prediction of death; plots; Judas's complicity - - - - -	44:1-9
k)	Washing of the feet of the disciples - - - - -	44:10-33
l)	Passover supper and farewell discourses - - - - -	44:34-47:44
m)	Betrayal and arrest of Jesus - - - - -	48:1-43
n)	Flight of the disciples - - - - -	48:44-48
o)	Peter's first denial - - - - -	48:47-55
p)	Examination before Annas - - - - -	49:1-6
q)	Peter's second denial - - - - -	49:7-18
r)	Trials before Caiaphas, Pilate, Herod, and Pilate again - - - - -	49:19-51:6
s)	Judas's remorse - - - - -	51:7-14
t)	Crucifixion - - - - -	51:15-52:23
u)	Burial - - - - -	52:24-39
v)	The guard - - - - -	52:40-44
2.	Life after death - - - - -	52:45-55:17
a)	Resurrection - - - - -	52:45-53:31
b)	Subsequent appearances - - - - -	53:32-54:48
c)	Ascension - - - - -	55:1-17

Such is the schematic conception of Jesus' life which T seems to have had. He seems to have followed his sources for the main stages of the gospel history, allowing rearrangement only within the larger divisions. But he deviates from them in one remarkable instance. After omitting all account of a distinct early Judean ministry, he creates a later one, which consists in a non-canonical Passover week and an implied sojourn in Jerusalem through the following winter (A 30:31-37:42).

CHAPTER III.

ALTERATIONS IN ORDER.

A PERUSAL of the plan in the preceding chapter reveals at once the truth of Zahn's remark, already quoted, but which will bear repetition here: "Aber dem Johannes wie den Synoptikern gegenüber geht er [T] von der Voraussetzung aus, dass jeder Evangelist, sei es aus Unkenntnis des geschichtlichen Sachverhalts, sei es in Rücksicht auf sachliche Verwandtschaft und lehrhafte Zweckmässigkeit vielfach einer andere Anordnung als die der zeitliche Abfolge der Ereignisse gewählt habe" (Z.^a, p. 261). Indeed, the extent to which T, on the basis of his conception of the evangelists' method of dealing with their material, modified the order of his sources is probably even greater than Zahn supposed. There may be produced examples of every possible kind of deviation from the order of our gospels—changes in the order of paragraphs, of sentences and clauses, and of words and phrases.

There are numerous alterations in the order of paragraphs. A most striking example is the distribution of Matt., chap. 18, through A 25: 8—27: 29. The following will indicate this: Matt. 18: 1 = A 25: 8; Matt. 18: 3 = A 25: 10; Matt. 18: 6–8 = A 25: 13–18; Matt. 18: 9a = A 25: 20; Matt. 18: 13 = A 26: 5; Matt. 18: 14 = A 26: 7; Matt. 18: 23–35 = A 27: 1–13; Matt. 18: 15–22 = A 27: 16–23; Matt. 18: 10, 11 = A 27: 28, 29. The remainder of the sections, which are involved here, is partly made up from material parallel to the omitted parts of Matt., chap. 18, but the great mass of remaining narrative is not thus from parallel sources, and this material gives to the several parts of Matt., chap. 18, an entirely different setting from that which they have in the first gospel. Another remarkable instance of alteration of order is found in A 22: 1–7. Here is put the account of the healing of a leper just after that of the journey through Samaria (which ends with John 4: 45a) and just before the journey to Jerusalem recorded in John 5: 1. The last synoptic material used by T preceding this account, which is taken from Mark, chap. 1, and Luke, chap. 5, is Mark 7: 31–37, and the next following is Matt. 15: 29–38, the last part of which is parallel to the Markan material immediately following Mark 7: 31–37. This arrangement gives the incident a position different from

that in any of the sources, viz., between Mark 7: 37 and 8: 1. Again, the addition of John 1: 35^f to the end of the account of the temptation (A 5: 4) gives an impression of the sequence of events not gained by the independent consideration of John 1: 35, 43; 2: 1. Another change is that of the position of the visit of Jesus to Mary and Martha. From its collocation in D with events transpiring in Galilee, and from the absence of any indication that Jesus left Galilee to make this visit, the conclusion is naturally drawn that T thought of Martha and Mary as living in Galilee, or, at least, that he failed to see this implication of his arrangement. Just why T inserted this account here it is difficult to say; but this much is quite certain: the procedure is in line with the subordination of Luke's Perean section to Mark and Matthew, generally characteristic of T. As already indicated in the previous chapter, T has made the journey through Samaria (A 21: 8 ff.) to be, not from Judea to Galilee, but from Tyre and Sidon, through the Decapolis. The general direction and the destination of the journey are not changed, but the point of its departure and the period of Jesus' activity in which it was made are altered. The warning given Jesus concerning Herod (A 24: 27-29), put by Luke in the Perean period (Luke 13: 31 ff.), is introduced just after the account of the descent from the mount of transfiguration, and just before that of the healing of the demoniac boy. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the phenomenon now being illustrated is the displacement already referred to, viz., the bringing together of the synoptic and Johannine accounts of the cleansing of the temple, of the visit of Nicodemus, and also of much of the material which our gospels present in connection with the Passion Week; and the making of this combined matter into an account of a week of activity and of a long sojourn at Jerusalem—the beginning of this account being connected with a Feast of Unleavened Bread, the second in the career of Jesus as conceived by T.⁴⁰ Still another illustration, and one almost incapable of explanation, is found in T's position for the Johannine account of the washing of the disciples' feet, viz., before the account of the preparation for the paschal supper (A 44: 10-33). Other examples need not be given. These will suffice to show the freedom with which T treated his sources with respect to the arrangement of sections.

These disarrangements of paragraphs, in the nature of the case, and as has incidentally appeared, cause differences in the order of events. But there are also alterations in the order of events not so

⁴⁰ See chap. vii, the discussion of A 30: 31.

caused. For example, the omission of the first part of Matt. 2:1 (A 3:1), and the substitution for it of the simple "And after that," give a unique sequence of events. By this change the visit of the magi is represented as having taken place after the return to Nazareth (and yet the visit is paid at Bethlehem). This would seem to imply that T held the view afterwards maintained by Ephraem and other Syrian Fathers, possibly, at least in part, on the basis of precisely this passage in D, that the visit of the magi occurred when Jesus was two years old (see Har.^c, pp. 37-39). Only by attributing to T such a view can there be explained what otherwise is a very crude and incongruous collocation of material, one not paralleled for crudity elsewhere in D. Yet, at the same time, there should probably be ascribed to T, on this hypothesis, the idea that Jesus' parents returned to Bethlehem. Another alteration in order not to be accounted for merely by the rearrangement of sections is to be seen in A 6:46. The isolation of this verse is due to T's failure to identify Matthew and Levi. The order of these events, irrespective of changes in the order of sections, deviates from that of the gospels. This shows quite clearly that T felt free to rearrange as he saw fit both sections of material and the sequence of events.

There is a similar freedom in the treatment of sentences and clauses. In A 5:43 Markan material is put into Matthean order. Examine the following:

MARK 1:15.

A 5:43.

MATT. 4:17b.

ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς "Repent ye and believe μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ
καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ in the gospel. The time is βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεῦετε fulfilled and the kingdom
ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. of heaven has come near."

A comparison of these three columns quickly reveals the alteration in D. Again, A 14:41, 42 shows Matt. 12:22, 23 to have been transposed to a position after Matt. 12:37 (= A 14:36). This transposition is supported by the testimony of E, for Ephraem quotes (M., p. 112) Matt. 12:32 (= A 14:31) before he mentions (M., p. 113) Matt. 12:22. Matt. 18:10, 11 are transposed to a position after all the remaining material of this chapter of the first gospel (A 27:28, 29). This transposition also is supported by E (see M., pp. 164, 165). John 12:16 (= A 39:25) is transposed to a position before John 12:12 (= A 39:34), and John 12:9-11 are put between John 12:2 and 12:3 (= A 39:2-6). The latter transposition is supported by E, in which John 12:10 precedes 12:5 (M., p. 205). In A 49:9 a part of Matt.

26:73 is inserted between Matt. 26:71 and 26:72. Matt. 26:59-68 (= A 49:21-41) and its parallels are transposed and made to follow Matt. 27:1b (which is used rather than Mark 15:1). The order of the several items of Mark 11:12-19, as it appears in D (A 32:1-27), is as follows: Mark 11:16 (+ insertion of Mark 12:41-44) + 11:19a + 11:12-15a.

Definitely attested examples of altered order of words are comparatively less numerous. Almost all the possibilities in the different orders for words are exhausted by either T's sources, as we possess them, or by the variants of their transmitted texts. The limitations which we have placed upon our text for the sake of certainty preclude, therefore, all but a few instances. Under the circumstances, however, it is surprising that there are any. Those of which we may be certain are as follows:

- 1 { Luke 1:50, *eis γενεάς καὶ γενεάς τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν.*
A 1:51, "them who fear him through the ages and the times."
- 2 { Luke 9:11b, *καὶ τοὺς χρεὼν ἔχοντας θεραπεύας αὐτο.*
A 18:26, "And he healed those having need of healing."

NOTE.—This example is especially interesting, since Luke 9:11 is repeated with the order of the Greek (*cf.* A 32:23).

- 3 { Mark 10:46, *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος, τυφλὸς προσαιτῆς, ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν.*
A 31:26, "And there was a blind man sitting by the wayside begging,
. . . Timæus, son of Timæus."

NOTE.—The order of A is supported by E (M., p. 181).

- 4 { Luke 18:11, *ἄρπαγες, ἄδικοι, μοιχοί.*
A 32:18, "the unjust, the profligate, the extortioners."

These passages show that Tatian was capable of changing the order of words, and had we more of the certainly original text of D, there would in all probability be a great many more such passages.

The foregoing discussion reveals that there are in the *Diatessaron* examples of every kind of change in order. T has quite freely altered the order of paragraphs, events, sentences and clauses, and words and phrases.

his additions,⁴³ which are usually interpretative, or at least may be explained as not unnatural expansions of his text. Zahn's suggestion may, therefore, be correct. But if this view is not correct, that concerning another passage in E certainly has probability. The passage is "ex lumine super aquas exorto et ex voce de caelo delapsa cognovisset" (M., p. 43; cf. Z.^a, p. 241). It seems to indicate quite clearly that there was in Ephraem's exemplar of D some reference to the apocryphal story concerning the light which appeared on the waters of the Jordan when Jesus was baptized.⁴⁴ The sanction of the story for T's mind is suggested and, at the same time, the whole hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Justin Martyr, whose pupil T was, knew and used this story.⁴⁵ Hill doubted the correctness of Zahn's suggestion that there was such an item in D (H.^a, pp. 36, 37), but J. R. Harris (Har.^c, p. 43) has produced evidence of quite decisive value for the settlement of the question. Ishodad, a Syrian Father, directly ascribes the story to D. Zahn's view, based alone upon E, is thus supported from this unexpected quarter. To this example of the use of extra-canonical material we might add T's use of Mark 16:9-20, if we could be sure that it was not in his exemplar—assuming that this section is unauthentic. But whether the inclusion of this material from Mark be regarded as an addition or not, it is quite certain that there are traces of material supplied by other sources than our four gospels.

But Tatian not only added, he also omitted, material. Omissions of words and phrases occur as follows:

1. A 1:42, 60; 2:9; 4:35; 8:9. These passages correspond respectively to Luke 1:41, 59; 2:1; 3:21; 6:12. In all five of these passages there is omitted *ἐγένετο*.

NOTE.—It should perhaps be said that some late manuscripts also omit this at Luke 2:1, but the chance of such a reading being the source of the phenomena of A at this point is so remote that the example has been allowed to stand, though, strictly, this is contrary to our usual method of procedure.

2. A 1:45 = Luke 1:44, *ἡδὲ γὰρ*.
3. A 2:1 = Matt. 1:18, *Ματίας*.

NOTE.—But E has this word (M., p. 20), and this fact throws suspicion upon the omission, though this suspicion may be dispelled. Ephraem's tendency to quote loosely and under the influence of the separate gospels, as well as the textual

⁴³ A 25:6 presents another saying that might on this same ground be assigned to an apocryphal source. Cf. p. 51.

⁴⁴ FUL. gives the following as containing the story: "the Gospel of the Ebionites," "the Preaching of Paul [or Peter]," "the Pseudo-Cyprianic De Baptismata."

⁴⁵ See *Dialogus with Trypho*, chap. 88.

principle stated at the beginning of this chapter, argue strongly for the correctness of A. E, not A, seems to present at this point a text which has fallen in with the general transmissional tendency to fill in omissions.

4. A 2:42 = Luke 2:34, *ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ*.

NOTE.—The evidence for this omission is derived from E (M., p. 23). Ephraem gives a turn to his comments on this passage which would be difficult to understand, were we to suppose these words stood in his text. This fact is quite decisive. Some manuscripts omit *ἐν*, but none the entire phrase.

5. A 4:12 = Matt. 3:4, *περὶ τὴν ὁσφὺν αὐτοῦ*.

6. A 4:35 = Luke 3:21, *καὶ προσευχομένου*.

7. A 7:37 = Matt. 12:1 and Luke 6:11, *ἑτάλλον*.

NOTE.—The latter part of this verse is certainly from Luke, for there is no reference in Matthew to rubbing. The omission is, therefore, as indicated. E again throws suspicion upon this example by quoting "*coeperunt spicas evellere et fricare et edere*" (M., p. 61). But, again, this may be transmissional corruption, particularly since P, which Ephraem undoubtedly knew, has this reading.

8. A 21:48 = John 4:44, *αὐτοῖς*.

9. A 53:26 = Matt. 28:11, *πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδοῦ*.

NOTE.—P omits *ἰδοῦ*, but none of the remainder.

Omissions of clauses and sentences are:

1. A 8:53-56 = Luke 12:57, *τί δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον*.

NOTE.—S^a and S^c both omit *τί*, but nothing else.

2. A 9:30 = Luke 11:1, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον ὡς ἐπαύσατο*.

NOTE.—S^a and S^c omit *ἐγένετο* only.

3. A 24:6 = Luke 9:31a, *οἱ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ*.

4. A 30:32 = Luke 17:11a, c, *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*.

5. A 32:1-27 = Mark 11:18, *καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ*.

NOTE.—This verse is entirely omitted in the rearrangement of Mark 11:12-19, and the distribution of it through the section of A indicated. It should be noted that the parallel of the verse is used at an entirely different point (A 34:46). The omission here is, nevertheless, a true example of the excision of a verse from the source which was in use, for it can scarcely be shown that T regarded Luke 19:47 as parallel. Indeed, just the opposite conclusion is implied by the position of Luke 19:47 (A 34:46) relative to other contextual Markan matter.

6. A 32:13 = Mark 12:42b, *ὃ ἐστὶν κοδράντης*.

7. A 32:26 = Matt. 21:19, *καὶ ἐξηράνθη παραχρῆμα ἡ συκὴ*.

NOTE.—E refers to the withering of the fig tree, but does not quote (M., p. 183). This may not signify more than that Ephraem knew the separate gospels.

8. A 39:15, 16 = Mark 14:8a, *ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν*.

9. A 46:53 = John 16:10, *καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με*.

This list might be prolonged.⁴⁶ But of the omissions of longer sections of material there is only one certain example, viz., the omission of the genealogies. The evidence that these did not appear originally in D is conclusive. There is (1) the express testimony of Theodoret (*Ad Her.*, 1:20, written in 453 A. D.). (2) There is no comment upon them in E. (3) The genealogies are given in the Borgian manuscript of A after A 55:17 (the end of D proper) and with the title *The Book of the Generations of Jesus* (H.^a, pp. 3-5; Hg., n. 55:17). Another omission besides this might be claimed, viz., of the pericope upon the adulterous woman, if it were not for the probability that this section was not in T's exemplar (*cf.* its absence from Syriac versions).

But if there are no other long sections than those mentioned which are omitted entire, yet attention must be called to the mass of unused parallels. In this connection, the dropping out of items of material, not elsewhere included in D, which are due to these omissions of parallels, are of peculiar interest. Examples of the omission of items due to this and other causes are as follows:

1. A 7:13-17. The fact that it was four men who bore the paralytic drops out through the use of the Lukan rather than the Markan account.
2. A 8:1. Matt. 12:14 is used instead of Mark 3:6, and thereby is omitted the fact that the Pharisees consulted the Herodians in their attempt to do away with Jesus.
3. A 14:44=Luke 9:10. There is neglected here the fact that it was to Bethsaida that Jesus withdrew.
4. A 24:26 drops out the entire verse, Mark 9:16, the question of Jesus.
5. A 33:52-55=Luke 20:16b. The reply (and its introduction) of those listening to Jesus is omitted.
6. A 39:26-28a omits the reference of Mark 11:4 to the colt's being tied to a door in the street.

These examples (the list might be lengthened) might have been included in the other lists of omissions. They have been separated to show that, even where parallel material had been used, items of information are involved in T's omissions. We have, therefore, found that T omitted words and phrases, clauses and sentences, at least one long section, and a mass of parallel material, in all of which omissions neglect of substance was involved.

⁴⁶ Further examples may be found, as suggested above, in H.^a, App. II and marginal notes to the text (*cf.*, e. g., pp. 178, 179). The following may be profitably examined: A 45:19-22 (= John 13:33-36) and A 49:44 (= John 18:28b). See also footnote, p. 50.

CHAPTER V.

CONFLATIONS.

WE may now take up the consideration of phenomena which are quite inevitable where an author desires to preserve the language of his sources fully and, at the same time, not to lose any of the differing items. T has shown himself quite skilful in the intricate interweaving of elements drawn from his several sources. The following passages will show this:⁴⁷

A 12:6-10.—(Mark 5:21a.)⁴⁸ "And when Jesus had crossed in the ship to that side, a great multitude received him | (Luke 8:40b, 41a) and they were all looking for him. And a man named Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, fell down at Jesus' feet and besought him | (Mark 5:23a) much and said unto him, | (Luke 8:42a) 'I have an only daughter and she is come nigh unto death; | (Matt. 9:18b, 19) but come and lay thy hand upon her and she shall live.' And Jesus arose, and his disciples and they followed him. | (Mark 5:24b.) And there joined him a great multitude and they pressed him."

A 17:8-18.—(Matt. 13:31a) "And he set forth to them another parable, | (Mark 4:30a) and said, (Luke 13:18) 'To what is the kingdom of God like and to what shall I liken it | (Mark 4:30b) and in what parable shall I set it forth? | (Luke 13:19a) It is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took | (Matt. 13:31b) and planted in his field | (Mark 4:31b) and, of the number of things that are sown in the earth, it is smaller than all of the things that are sown, which are upon the earth, | (Matt. 13:32b) but when it is grown it is greater than all the herbs | (Mark 4:32b) and produceth large branches | (Matt. 13:32c) so that the birds of heaven make their nests in its branches.'"

NOTE.—Attention should be constantly paid to the bringing over of material from Luke's Perean sections to another connection.

A 11:38-45.—(Luke 8:26, 27a) "And they departed and came to the country of the Gadarenes, which is on the other side, opposite the land of Galilee. And when he went out of the ship to the land there met him | (Mark 5:2b) from the tombs a man | (Luke 8:27c) who had a devil for a long time and wore no clothes, neither dwelt in a house but among the tombs. | (Mark

⁴⁷ All assignments to the gospels have been made after an examination of each passage. The references in Ciasca's edition of A (which are followed by Hill and Hogg) are not always to be trusted. No detailed consideration has been given to the text of A in the following examples, because the possible corruptions of text could not affect the result aimed at in presenting the illustrations. A difference of reading here and there would not have any effect upon the general result.

⁴⁸ The assignments include all material that follows until the next reference number is reached.

5:3*b*, 4*a*) And no man was able to bind him with chains, because any time that he was bound with chains and fetters, he cut the chains and loosened the fetters. | (Luke 8:29*c*) And he was snatched away of the devil into the desert | (Mark 5:4*b*, 5*a*) and no one was able to quiet him. And at all times, in the night and in the day, he would be among the tombs and in the mountains; | (Matt. 8:28*b*) and no one was able to pass by that way; | (Mark 5:5*b*-7*a*) and he would cry out and wound himself with stones. And when he saw Jesus at a distance, he hastened and worshipped him and cried with a loud voice and said, | (Luke 8:28*b*) 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? | (Mark 5:7*c*) I adjure thee by God, torment me not.' | (Luke 8:29*a*) And Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man, etc., etc."

NOTE.—This passage illustrates the conflation of all three synoptic gospels.

The examples thus far given will suffice to show how the text of D reads where there is intricate conflation. The intricacy is shown also by the following arrangement of reference numbers without the actual quotation of the text:

A 39:13-15 is made up of material from Matthew, Mark and John, arranged in the following order: Matt. 26:9; Mark 14:5*b*; Matt. 26:10*a*; Mark 14:6*b*; John 12:7*b*; Mark 14:7; Matt. 26:12; Mark 14:8*b*.

A 41:33-41.—Here we have material from the three synoptics: Mark 13:3*a*; Matt. 24:3*b*; Luke 21:7*b*; Matt. 24:3*c*; Matt. 24:4*a*; Luke 17:22*b*; Matt. 24:4*b*, 5*a*; Luke 21:8*b*; Mark 13:6*b* (or Matt. 24:5*b*); Luke 21:8*c*; Mark 13:7*a*; Luke 21:9*b*; Matt. 24:6*c*; Luke 21:10*b*, 11. The intricacy here is remarkable. A number of the passages designated contribute only one or two words. Note, in particular, the unexpected introduction of Luke 17:22*b* (Perean section). The dislocation of this single item is suggestive as to limits to which a compiler will go in bringing small details from afar to serve in the composition of any section.

A 45:23-28 gives a conflation of material from all four gospels: Matt. 26:31, 32; John 13:36*a*; Matt. 26:33*a*; Luke 22:33*b* (Lord), (or John 13:37*a*); Matt. 26:33*b*; Luke 22:33*c*; John 13:37*b*, 38*a*; Mark 14:30*b*; Luke 22:34*b*; Mark 14:31*a*; Matt. 26:35*a*; Mark 14:31; Matt. 26:35*b*. Here, also, some of the passages referred to contribute but one or two words.

Sufficient variety is given by these examples⁴⁹ to show that the degree of intricacy in conflating, and the remoteness of the conflated elements from each other in the written sources, are practically unlimited except

⁴⁹ Others may easily be had by examining almost any page of D.

by T's desire to present a tolerably smooth reading. This limit even is removed sometimes by the use of connectives.⁵⁰

There are, however, a number of passages which contain scenes very strikingly placed. They will yield additional evidence as to the distance from which minute items may be brought, and at the same time will show how little one source may contribute at any given point. Luke 4 : 14a is inserted (A 5 : 21), into Johannine material (between John 1 : 51 and 2 : 1), and is put to good service in getting Jesus from Judea to Galilee. In the light of the sources, this is noteworthy. Tatian identifies the return to Galilee after which, according to John, Jesus performed his first miracle at Cana, with the return immediately after which, according to Luke, the Galilean ministry began, and he obviates the difficulty which is thus raised by the consideration of the Johannine Judean ministry, by postponing the use of all the material relating to this. By making this identification, it was possible to use Luke 4 : 14a as an excellent transition from John 1 : 51 to John 2 : 1 and the rest of what follows in D. But such use of this verse separates it completely from its Lukan context. In Luke the verse forms the transition from the accounts of the baptism and temptation of Jesus to the general summary of his widespread work and fame at the beginning of the Galilean ministry. In D it constitutes the transition from the account of the interview between Jesus, Philip, and Nathaniel to that of the wedding incident at Cana, and in so doing it raises a difficulty in regard to the point of departure for the reckoning of the chronological significance of "the third day" (John 2 : 1). The verse in its present situation is, therefore, quite noteworthy. Another passage worthy of remark is A 6 : 22-25. After giving in A 6 : 20, 21, the Johannine version of the occasion, and in A 6 : 22 the statement of the fact of Jesus' withdrawal from Judea, T omits the last item of John 4 : 3 ("and departed again *into Galilee*"), postponing the information as to Jesus' destination. T apparently decided to use the synoptic statement concerning the destination, and this use all but compelled the inclusion of the synoptic introduction to this statement, viz., the synoptic version of the occasion of the withdrawal. As a result, we have this order : the Johannine statement of the occasion and fact of departure, then the synoptic statement of the occasion, fact, and destination of the withdrawal. This arrangement preserves all of the material, but it is rather repetitious. T has gone quite far in his effort to preserve the items from the several sources. Another striking sentence is A 6 : 46.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hill's marginal notes to his text.

His failure to identify Matthew and Levi probably led T to isolate Matt. 9:9b as he has done here. In so doing he has given the verse a position unlike that which it has in the first gospel. An illustration of the phenomenon to which attention was called (p. 55), viz., of the introduction into Matthean and Markan material of items from Luke's Perean section, is given in A 16:38 (Luke 10:23b). John 4:45b, (A 23:3), which assigns the cause of the reception of Jesus by the Galileans (John 4:45a) is postponed not only to a point after the addition of much synoptic material, but also to a position after the introduction of the whole of John chap. 5 (*cf.* above, p. 37). This postponement, therefore, amounts really to the introduction of a remotely situated item of one source into material from another, especially since this verse is connected in D with Matthean matter. Finally, note the insertion of Mark 16:12b into the otherwise unbroken Johannine account (A 54:36). Tatian, accordingly, was wont to transfer, from one account to another, the smallest of items, and that, too, no matter how remote these items were, in the original sources, from the material into which they were to be inserted.

The variety of combinations of larger sections of material is as great as that of the intricate interweaving of smaller items. There are instances of every possible combination of the gospels with one another. The following list includes not only combinations of parallel passages, but also the collocation of passages, one after the other, which concern different events or contain different discourses.

Combinations of two gospels are :

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Matthew and Mark (A 5:42-48; 24:20-24; 25:27-46). | 4. Mark and Luke (A 14:43-48; 32:12-26). |
| 2. Matthew and John (A 41:1-15; 28:1-14; 51:1-14). | 5. Mark and John (A 19:14-16 ff.; 54:25-38). |
| 3. Matthew and Luke (A 4:45-52; 11:1-23; 14:37-42). | 6. Luke and John (A 5:21-41; 28:15-41; 34:46-53; 41:16-26). |

Combinations of three gospels are :

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Matthew, Mark, and Luke (A 7:1-36; 13:27-43; 14:2-30). | 3. Matthew, Luke, and John (A 4:1-26; 6:25-35). |
| 2. Matthew, Mark, and John (A 19:1-13). | 4. Mark, Luke, and John (A 44:41-50). |

There are instances also of the combination of the four gospels (*e. g.*, A 4:28-52; 18:22-50:32:1-21). The number of illustrations may be increased, for the several kinds of combination, from H.^a, App. I. The variety of combination is sufficiently indicated by those given.

T's method in combining and conflating so variously was generally

to identify material in his several sources as referring to the same occasion, and then to interweave if he thought it possible, and, if not, to put the passages in juxtaposition to one another. He carried out this procedure, preserving material even at the cost of repetition and contextual inconsistency. Take, for example, the account of John the Baptist's ministry (A 3:37—4:27). The narrative begins with Luke 3:1-6, with which Matt. 3:1b-3a is interwoven. This carries the account through the announcement of the advent and preaching of John and the identification of him according to the synoptists. Then is added John 1:7-28, after which the synoptic account is resumed without any attempt to harmonize A 4:2-11 and 4:24-26. This failure to harmonize is probably due to the fact that, in the Johannine account, the Baptist addresses the representatives from Jerusalem, but in the synoptic narrative his words are directed to the people. Again, Matthew's account of the call of the four disciples is followed by that of Luke without any attempt to harmonize the two narratives (A 5:44—6:4). Attention may also be called again to A 6:20-25, where T gives both the Johannine and the synoptic version of Jesus' withdrawal from Judea. Another striking combination without harmonization is to be found in A 44:11-40 f. Here we have John 13:1-20 followed by the synoptic account of the preparation for and of the actual progress of the paschal supper (the parallel Johannine material is connected with the latter element). The result is that we have a partial account of the supper in the incident of the feet-washing, and then follows the account proper of the passover meal.⁵¹ This and the preceding examples make T's method clear. He combined and conflated as he saw fit, attempting to preserve as much material as possible, even though such preservation involved lack of harmonization, repetition, and incongruities (*cf.* chap. vii).

In addition to the above, there is another characteristic of T's method which should be indicated. This is the enrichment of discourses found in one source with material occurring in more distributed connections in another. Especially important and instructive are the quite numerous cases in which he has enriched Matthean discourses with matter from Luke's Perean section. Moreover, it is to be noted that in some instances this enrichment is so extensive that not only the discourses which appear in the sources (*e. g.*, Matthew) are greatly lengthened, but new

⁵¹ T may have been led to this arrangement by the phrase, "before the Feast of the Passover," and by interpreting "at the time of the feast" to mean the general period rather than the actual time of the supper.

ones are created by the combination of less extended passages. Examine the following :

1. *A 8 : 26—10 : 48, the Sermon on the Mount.*—The material from the several sources is arranged as follows : Matt. 5 : 3—10 ; Luke 6 : 22*a* ; Matt. 5 : 11*b*, 12 ; Luke 6 : 24—27 ; Matt. 5 : 13—16 ; Luke 8 : 17 (or Mark 4 : 22 ?) ; Mark 4 : 23 ; Matt. 5 : 17—25*a* ; Luke 12 : 58*b* (Perean) ; Matt. 5 : 25*c*—42 ; Luke 6 : 30*b*, 31 ; Matt. 5 : 43—46 ; Luke 6 : 32*b*—36 ; Matt. 5 : 47, 48 ; Matt. 6 : 1—8 ; Luke 11 : 1*b*, 2*a* (Perean material ; note this remarkable introduction of the narrative setting for the Lord's Prayer) ; Matt. 6 : 9—18 ; Luke 12 : 32, 33*a* (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 19—23 ; Luke 11 : 35, 36 (Perean material ; note T's acuteness in these Matthean and Lukan passages) ; Matt. 6 : 24—27 ; Luke 12 : 26 (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 28—31 ; Luke 12 : 29*b* (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 32—34 ; Matt. 7 : 1 ; Luke 6 : 37*b*, 38 ; Mark 4 : 24*b* (note, with reference to the use of Mark here, and also in respect to the preceding instance of such use, that the material introduced is that which is not included in Matthew's version of the parables by the sea) ; Luke 18 : 8*b* (or Mark 4 : 25 ?) ; Luke 6 : 39—42 ; Matt. 7 : 6 ; Luke 11 : 5—13 (Perean) ; Matt. 7 : 12—16*a* (note the repetition of the "golden rule" in the same discourse ; cf. A 9 : 11) ; Luke 6 : 44 ; Matt. 7 : 17, 18 ; Luke 6 : 45 ; Matt. 7 : 19—23 ; Luke 6 : 47, 48 ; Matt. 7 : 25—27. Some of the material added to Matthew is parallel to the rejected portions of the first gospels, but most of it is not such.

2. *A 12 : 44—13 : 29, discourse to the Twelve.*—Here there is introduced material, not only from the parallels to Matthew in Mark and Luke, but also from Luke's Perean section, viz., Luke 12 : 3*b*, 4*a* (A 13 : 12, 13) ; Luke 12 : 5*a*, *c* (A 13 : 14) ; Luke 12 : 51—53 (A 13 : 20—22). If the view of Zahn and Hill is correct, that T conflated with this discourse the similar instructions to the Seventy (Luke 10 : 3—12), then this additional Perean material must be reckoned with at this point.

3. *A 13 : 44—14 : 40, the discourse on John the Baptist.*—There is introduced here, beside parallel material, the following from Luke's Perean section : Luke 16 : 16 (A 14 : 5) ; Luke 16 : 17 (A 14 : 19). There is also used Luke 6 : 45*a* (A 14 : 34) from Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount. There is, moreover, added at the end of the discourse Luke 12 : 54, 55 (Perean) ; Matt. 16 : 2*b*, 3*a* ; Luke 12 : 56 (Perean, with possibly the conflation of Matt. 16 : 3*b*).⁵² Other examples are not necessary, as an examination of the other discourses taken from Matthew reveals that they have been enriched in the same way as those discussed.

⁵² The material is difficult to assign here on account of the condition of the Greek text. Our assignment has been made on the basis of Westcott and Hort's text. In all of the assignments in this chapter this edition has been used in conjunction with that of Weiss (in part).

Examples of discourses which have been very greatly extended and of those which have been created almost entirely are:

1. *A 29:14-42*.—Here is quite an extended discourse made by bringing together Luke 16:19-31 and Matt. 20:1-16. It is to be noted, in addition, that T apparently considered this speech to be a continuation of the discourse on riches that precedes it in D. Thus, were it not for the narrative parenthesis of *A 29:12, 13* (only two verses; cf. introduction of narrative setting of the Lord's Prayer, p. 60), we should have a continuous discourse extending from *A 28:42* to *A 29:42*, in which T has gathered a considerable part of Jesus' teaching on riches. If this be the case—and it probably is—we have here an illustration of the bringing together of more or less isolated teachings to make a single formal discourse.

2. *A 29:43-30:30*.—The discourse at the table of one of the chief Pharisees is greatly lengthened by the conflation of Luke 14:1-24 with Matt. 22:1-14.

3. *A 26:34-27:29*.—A discourse to the disciples is constructed by adding to Luke 16:1-12 the following: Matt. 18:23-35; Luke 17:3, 4; Matt. 18:15-22; Luke 12:47-50; Matt. 18:10, 11. Note the way in which T has manipulated the material of Matt., chap. 18. Note also that he has broken up this discourse in Matt., chap. 18, and distributed its material in two of the sections of D (*A 25:8-25* and *A 26:1-27:9*). T seems to work both by integration and disintegration.

4. *A 33:1-25*.—Here T has constructed a discourse on prayer, and has included, in the following order, these passages: Mark 11:19, 20; Matt. 21:20b; Mark 11:21-23; Matt. 21:21b, 22; Luke 17:5-10 (Perean); Mark 11:24-26; Luke 18:1-8.

The above examples are a striking commentary upon the possibilities of conflation of written sources. Nothing that has been alleged of our gospels will go beyond the limit here indicated.

CHAPTER VI.

REWRITING.

IN this chapter we are to take a step farther and consider phenomena which are occasioned by an attitude of mind precisely the opposite of that which is everywhere present in the making of confluations such as have just been discussed. In the latter case there is constantly present the desire to preserve as much of the material as possible just as the sources offer it. In the case of the phenomena about to be considered there is a disregard for the exact literary form of the material. These phenomena are to be described by the term "rewriting."

We will first present examples of rewritten words. These are of two kinds—those which show change in the grammatical forms of words, and those which illustrate the substitution of synonymous expressions. The following list presents examples of the alteration of grammatical forms of words:

1. A 13:41, Luke 7:21, "Spirit" for *πνευμάτων* is used.

NOTE.—The only evidence which is adverse to the use of this example is the omission in S^o of the diacritical mark for the plural. But the manuscript is defective here, and therefore little force can be given to the omission.

- 2 { A 39:22, "send them hither" (Arab. 2d pers. dual imperat.).
Matt. 21:3, *ἀποστείλει*. Mood, person, and number are affected.
- 3 { A 30:52, "My Father hath prepared."
Mark 10:40, *ἡτοιμάσται* (Matt. 20:23), *ὑπὸ πατρός μου*. The conflated reading of A has a change of voice.
- 4 { A 4:51 has a subjunctive clause of purpose for *διδωμι* (Luke 4:6).
Change of mood.
- 5 { A 51:34, "Hath been written."
John 19:22, *γέγραφα*. Change of voice and person.
- 6 { A 28:28, "Truly this man has been known."
John 7:27, *τοῦτον οἶδαμεν*. Voice, number, and person are affected.
- 7 { A 46:14, "that I should be reckoned."
Luke 22:37, *ἐλογίσθη*. Person and probably the tense have been changed, for the Arabic imperfect refers to the future, *i. e.*, from the standpoint of the writing of the Scripture referred to. This change may be due, however, to a misreading of the equivalent Syriac verb on the part either of the Arabic translator or some previous scribe of D. Such a misreading would not be unlikely. Indeed, some scribe has been

guilty of this confusion in writing his manuscript of P. We can allow this example, therefore, only conditionally.

- 8 { A 46:48, "I go."
 { John 16:5, *ἐπάγεις*. Person is changed.
 9 { A 10:14, "Give that ye may be given."
 { Luke 6:37b, *ἵνα ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς*. The mood is changed by subordinating the second verb of the Greek, in a subjunctive clause of purpose. This instance is noteworthy, for in the preceding clause, "release and ye shall be released," no such change is made.
 10 { A 17:9, "shall I set it forth."
 { Mark 4:30, *θῶμεν*. Change in number.

NOTE.—A suggestion of this change is found in several late MSS. of the Latin version of our gospels. That they could have influenced D in transmission is a possibility almost too remote for notice.

- 11 { A 18:26, "healed" (Arab. imperfect of past customary action).
 { Luke 9:11, *ἰάτο* (variant *ἰάσατο*). Whichever reading be adopted for the Greek text, the resultant text is hardly the same as that of A. The significance of the Arabic reading is enhanced by the fact that in the rendering of Luke 9:11 at A 32:23 Ibn-at-Tayib has used the perfect tense.

This list shows the remarkable variety in the alterations of grammatical forms.

We may now present examples of the substitution of synonymous words and phrases:

- 1 { A 29:23, "go."
 { Luke 16:28, *ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς*.

NOTE.—Aph. is not to be accepted as testimony against A at this point (*cf.* column 907 of Aph.), for the quotation in the homilies is quite clearly influenced by P. It is difficult to explain the derivation of the reading of A from that of Aph. (supposing the latter to be the original). The similarity of the reading of Aph. to that of P (for Luke 16:28) is enough to show how the text of Aph. reached its present form. Either Aphraates himself in quoting from, or some later scribe in copying, the homilies was influenced by P.

- 2 { A 39:41, "take possession of" (= Vat. MSS.), "drag" (= Borgian MS.).
 { Luke 19:44, *ἐδαφιοῦσιν*.

NOTE.—The difference in the Arabic manuscripts does not affect the point, unless Hogg is right in his suggestion that the reading of the Borgian manuscript, "drag," could easily have arisen from the change of a single diacritical mark in the Arabic word for "destroy." If this is true, our example is not valid. But Hogg does not indicate what Arabic word he refers to, and the only one which I could conjecture as possible from the change of the diacritical point (*chrr*) does not mean "destroy," if the authorities I have used are correct.

- 3 { A 43:8, "judge."
 { Matt. 24:51, διχοτομήσει.

NOTE.—E reads, "Eum abscindet medium et separabit eum (M., p. 218). This reading can hardly be accepted as original so far as *abscindet* is concerned, since the tendency would be to harmonize the reading presented by A with that of the separate gospels. The addition of *et separabit eum* may well be accounted original, and, if so, is one of T's additions.

- 4 { A 43:48, "ye cared for;" A 43:51, "we cared for."
 { Matt. 25:36, ἠλθατε; Matt. 25:39, ἠλθομεν.

NOTE.—The testimony of Aph. (column 902), which is adverse to A at this point, cannot be allowed decisive force. Either Aphraates is using the separate gospel (of P) for his quotation of this passage, or the text of his homily has been influenced by P. A's reading cannot be derived from that of Aph. Besides, it is T's habit to make such interpretative changes, not only in such a passage as this, but also in others.

- 5 { A 45:23, "ye shall deal treacherously" (Hogg renders "desert").
 { Matt 26:31, σκανδαλισθήσεσθε.

- 6 { A 1:51, "embraceth."
 { Luke 1:50, a copula is to be supplied.

- 7 { A 5:8, "his place."
 { John 1:39, τοῦ μένει.

- 8 { A 9:1, "to God."
 { Matt. 5:33, τῷ κυρίῳ.

- 9 { A 1:51, "throughout the ages and times."
 { Luke 1:50, εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς.

NOTE.—The Syriac versions are unlike the Greek here, but A's reading could scarcely have arisen from their influence.

- 10 { A 9:16, 17, "where is your superiority?"
 { Luke 6:33, 34, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν.

NOTE.—There is possibly here a trace of the influence of Matt. 5:47 (τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε), especially in the form presented by P, where the Syriac equivalent of "superiority" appears. Such an influence, however, could not be appealed to, to explain "where," and therefore the change in this word is due to T.

- 11 { A 15:49, "if he is not able."
 { Luke 14:32, εἰ δὲ μήγε.

- 12 { A 17:47, "Naaman, the Nabathæan."
 { Luke 4:27, Ναυμὰν ὁ Σύρος.

- 13 { A 25:20, "seduce."
 { Matt. 18:9 (or Mark 9:47), σκανδαλίζει.

- 14 { A 25:38, "hath exposed to adultery."
 { Mark 10:11, μοιχᾶται.

15. A 4:13 (Matt. 3:4). We know, on the express testimony of Ishodad, whose statement has influenced that of Bar Salibi and Bar Hebræus, that the reading of D was "honey and milk of the mountains," which is not preserved in A. This is a substitute for ἀκρίδες καὶ γάλα ὄρειον. T seems to have allowed his Encratite views to influence him here.⁵³

This list does not exhaust the number of examples, but shows clearly enough T's literary methods with respect to rewritten words.

Examples of rewritten sentences are :

- 1 { A 3:1, "After that."
Matt. 2:1, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ.

NOTE.—The purpose and significance of this change has already been discussed (p. 48).

- 2 { A 4:51, "which is delivered unto me that I may give it to whomsoever I will."
Luke 4:6, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται καὶ ὃ ἐὰν θέλω δίδωμι αὐτήν.
3 { A 7:37, "And while Jesus was walking on the sabbath day among the sown fields, his disciples hungered, and they were rubbing the ears with their hands and eating."
Matt. 12:1, Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασις διὰ τῶν σπορίμων. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπείνασαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τίλλειν στάχυν καὶ ἐσθλεῖν.
Luke 6:1δ, καὶ ἤσθιον ψάχοντες ταῖς χερσίν.

NOTE.—Tatian has here both conflated and rewritten his material. Some, but not all, of his variations may be due to S^c. Compare S^c for Matt. 12:1: "And at that time Jesus was walking on the sabbath among the corn, and his disciples were hungry and began plucking ears and rubbing them in their hands and eating." If S^c is later than D in origin, it may have been influenced here by T's gospel.

- 4 { A 15:50, "So shall every man of you consider, that desireth to be a *disciple to me*; for, if he renounceth not all that he hath, he can not be my disciple." (The words italicized may be due to P, but no others.)
Luke 14:33, οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής.
5 { A 16:17, "And he beckoned with his hand, stretching it out toward his disciples and said."
Matt. 12:49, καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν.
6 { A 19:9, "And when Jesus came near he went up unto them into the boat, he and Simon, and immediately the wind ceased."
Mark 6:51 (cf. Matt. 14:32), καὶ ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἀνεμος.

⁵³ For a suggestive discussion of this passage, and for the quotation from Ishodad, see Har.c, pp. 17, 18.

NOTE.—E gives a reading for this verse of D according to which it seems to have been even more recast by T than appears from a consideration of A's text alone: "Cum venisset Dominus et cum Petro navem ascendissit, ventus cessavit et quievit" (M., p. 136).

- 7 { A 24: 6, "And they thought [the disciples] that the time of his decease was come."
 Luke 9: 31, *ἔλεγον* [*Ἠλείας καὶ Μωυσῆς*] *τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ*.
 8 { A 39: 22, "We seek them for our Lord and straightway send them hither."
 Matt. 21: 3*b*, *ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει· εὐθὺς ἀποστελεῖ αὐτοὺς* (Mark 11: 3) *ὧδε*.
 9 { A 51: 6. "Then Pilate commanded to grant their request and delivered up Jesus to be crucified."
 Luke 23: 24, *καὶ Πειλᾶτος ἐπέκρινεν γενέσθαι τὸ αἷτημα αὐτῶν* (John 19: 16) *τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ*.
 10 { A 51: 31, "And Pilate wrote on a tablet *the cause of his death* and put it on the wood of the cross above his head. And there was written upon it," etc. The words italicized may be due to P.
 John 19: 19, *ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πειλᾶτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον*
 Matt. 27: 37, *καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀκτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην*.

In this final example we have a striking instance of the employment of both conflation and rewriting:

- 11 { A 24: 3, 4 (Luke 9: 29*a*) "And while they were praying, Jesus | (Matt. 17: 2*a*) changed | (Luke 9: 29) *and became after the fashion of another person* | (Matt. 17: 2*b*), and his face shone like the sun and his raiment was | (Mark 9: 3*a*) very white | (Luke 9: 26 according to the Syriac versions) like snow | (Matt. 17: 2*c*) and as the light of the lightning | (Mark 9: 3*b*) so that *nothing* on earth can whiten like it." The passages italicized are without exact equivalents in the Greek, but are somewhat like the verses to which they are assigned.
 Luke 9: 29, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς*.
 Matt. 17: 2, αὐτοῦ λευκὸς *ἐξαστράπτων*. *καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκά*.
 Mark 9: 3, *ὡς τὸ φῶς*. *καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στιλβοντα λευκὰ ὡς ὁ αἶς, ὅσα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶσαι*.

This last example is a fitting climax to the others which precede. No matter how many more we should add—there are other examples—they could not show any more clearly than those above how freely T rewrote some of his sentences.

There are in D, strictly speaking, no rewritten paragraphs. T's regard for his sources was apparently too great to allow him to reject

the literary form of an entire paragraph and to give its substance a new dress. The nearest approach to a rewritten section is found in those where the interweaving, conflation, and rewritten sentences (the last more or less scattered) give the sections an entirely different form from that which the same material had in any one of the sources (*e. g.*, A 24: 1-16, and 39: 1-17). Yet it must be said that such sections do not present precisely the phenomenon of rewritten paragraphs, such as are alleged to be present in the synoptic gospels. We must, therefore, be content with noting the near approach just indicated, and with stating the absence of the real phenomenon.

CHAPTER VII.

INCONGRUITIES AND REPETITIONS.

A PHENOMENON which is usually given considerable weight by critics in determining whether a literary work is a compilation or not, consists in the occurrence in the work of contextual incongruities; *i. e.*, the occurrence of statements which are, to a greater or less degree, inconsistent with other statements in the context. T's gospel offers a good opportunity, since we possess his sources, for testing whether such a phenomenon is to be expected in compilations. It will be reassuring to those critics who have used this phenomenon as a criterion to find that in even so skilful a compilation as D there are a number of instances of incongruity.

1. *A 4:10, cf. 25.*—In 4:10 John the Baptist is made to say, "This is he who, *I said*, cometh after me and was before me," etc. No such saying, however, has been given before in D. Then in 4:25 is presented the saying which is apparently referred to in 4:10. The incongruity arises from the juxtaposition of two unharmonized sections from different sources.⁵⁴

2. *A 4:42; cf. 5:4, 21.*—In 4:42 Jesus is declared to have returned from the Jordan, and in 4:43 the account of the temptation begins. Yet in 5:4 ff. Jesus is still represented as in the company of the Baptist, and in 5:21 the statement of his return to Galilee is made. This statement suggests to the reader of D that "the third day" of 5:22 is not to be reckoned from the baptism. Probably T had some reason for supposing that Luke 4:1 (*A 4:42*) did not refer to a return to Galilee, as the source of *A 5:21* is Luke 4:14; but the assumption that Jesus was still with John, though possible, is hardly suggested by the sources, and it produces an incongruity in the narrative, since there is no statement of a movement on the part of Jesus from the place of temptation to the Jordan.

3. *A 6:20-25.*—The awkwardness of this passage has been discussed above, p. 57.

4. *A 18:1-5, cf. 20.*—Herod, marveling at what he had heard of Jesus, joins in the opinion, according to this passage, that John the Baptist had risen from the dead (18:1-5). Yet in 18:20 Herod is still undecided as to who Jesus is and desires to see him. A comparison

⁵⁴ If T's text of John agreed with that of W. H., this incongruity is due to the corruption of D.

with the sources at once reveals the cause of the incongruity, viz., incompletely harmonized juxtaposition.

5. *A 44:10-34*.—Reference has already been made to the peculiarities of this passage (p. 59, above).⁵⁵ It suffices here to note that the account of the Last Supper begins at 44:10, is then diverted immediately to the account of a meal apparently preceding the paschal supper; then the account begun in 44:10 is resumed again.

6. *A 40:44*.—Tatian failed to see the chronological incongruity between John 18:28 and the synoptic account of Jesus' trial and crucifixion. The difficulty is made more outstanding by the combination of the two narratives.

7. *A 54:23, 24*.—Again T has failed to perceive what is now generally held to be an incongruity in the unified development of the entire fourth gospel, viz., the indication, in John 20:30, 31, of the close of the book.⁵⁶

These incongruities could be discovered, for the most part, even if we did not possess T's sources, and they, therefore, illustrate exactly the incongruities usually alleged to be present in works which are supposed to be compilations.

The presence of incongruities in D suggests that there will be found in it also that other phenomenon so generally found in works alleged to be compilations, viz., repetition. The list below will illustrate the number and variety of the occurrences of this phenomenon:

1. *A 4:10, cf. 25*.—We have in these two passages really the same saying from different sources, though T has given it a different setting in the two passages. Indeed, the accounts 4:2-11 and 4:24, 25 seem to refer to the same facts, but T is no duller in keeping the narratives separated than almost all modern harmonists.

2. *A 5:33, 34; cf. 7:8*.—The statement concerning the widespread fame of Jesus is twice used, and in both cases seems to be derived from Luke 4:14b, 15. (Luke 4:37 is also similar, though its parallel (Mark 1:28) is not, and may be the source for one of the occurrences, though this is not likely.)

3. *A 6:22; cf. 25*.—The fact of withdrawal from Judea to Galilee is used twice. In the first, the point of departure is emphasized; in the second, the point of destination is expressed. *Cf.* p. 57.

4. *A 6:36; cf. 7:25*.—The call of Matthew and that of Levi are not identified, as it is now usual to do.

⁵⁵ For a discussion, from a somewhat different standpoint from that taken here, of some of the passages in this list and one other, see pp. 57 f. above.

⁵⁶ For two additional examples of incongruity see footnotes, p. 72 and p. 73.

5. *A 7:9; cf. 25.*—The call of Levi is given twice, once from Mark 2:14 and once from Luke 5:27. There is possibly a hint as to how this repetition arose in E, whose reference to Jesus' choice of *Jacobum publicanum* (M., p. 58) may indicate that this was the reading in D at a point corresponding to A 7:9. There is authority (especially the "western" text) for such a reading in Mark 2:14, and it is more than possible that such a reading was present in T's exemplar of Mark, since the text of D shows a decided affinity to "western" readings. The fact that F omits the material of A 7:9 may be explained by supposing its author, knowing the better reading for Mark 2:14, perceived the repetition. If the reading of his exemplar of D was "Levi," the perception of this was easy. If, on the other hand, his exemplar had not become corrupted, as A has (assuming the correctness of our supposition), and read "Jacob," his Latin text of the separate gospels would correct this reading. Yet, over against the whole supposition is the fact that the reference in E is not a direct quotation, and its reading may be due to Ephraem's, not to Tatian's, knowledge of the separate gospel texts.

6. *A 8:44; cf. 13:11; cf. 41:19.*—In these passages the same saying is repeated from Mark 4:23; Matt. 10:26, and Luke 12:2, respectively. It is alleged that Matthew has repeated sayings from two different sources, but T goes even farther in thus using the same saying from three sources.

7. *A 13:12; cf. 41:20b.*—Luke 12:3b is used at both the points indicated. E has at a place corresponding to A 13:12 substituted Matt. 10:27b for Luke 12:3b. This is another case where E's text has been influenced by a separate gospel. Either Ephraem's exemplar had already been influenced; or his own knowledge of the gospel text⁵⁷ suggested this quotation to his mind; or else the text of E has been corrupted. E gives a reading in line with the general harmonizing corruptions in D, while A preserves an unharmonized text.

8. *A 18:2; cf. 5.*—In 18:2 the people are made to say that Jesus is John the Baptist risen from the dead, where Luke 6:7 is the source. In 18:5 Herod says the same thing, and here the source is Matt. 14:2.

9. *A 18:3; cf. 23:33.*—The expression "others, Jeremiah" drawn from Matt. 16:14b is used in both the places indicated.

10. *A 18:26; cf. 32:23.*—At both points Luke 9:11b appears.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of such a knowledge on the part of Ephraem see Z.², pp. 61-63.

11. *A 22:9; cf. 30:31.*—According to the assignment of material in Ciasca's Arabic *Diatessaron*, which is adopted on the margin of the text of both Hogg and Hill, there is a repetition here of John 5:1. But the assignment of 30:31 to John 5:1 can hardly be correct. The verse in A agrees with John 2:13, which is nowhere else used, and differs from John 5:1 in the exact identification of the feast mentioned as the Feast of Unleavened Bread. To be sure, there is a variant of John 5:1 which makes this identification, and it might be said that this was the reading of T's exemplar. But the use of John 5:1 at A 22:9 without such identification disposes of such a suggestion at once, for it is quite incredible that T should have given John 5:1 in two forms from the same exemplar. Besides, had such a reading been in T's copy of John, it could hardly have failed to influence his conception of the chronology of Jesus' life; and, therefore, how can we think that T would have thus dallied with John 5:1 so as to give it two very distinct forms? In the face of these considerations, and since we have a reasonably close agreement between John 2:13 and A 30:31 (closer than that between John 5:1 and A), Ciasca's assignment is without probability. Moreover, the comparatively near occurrence in the context of D (A 32:1) of John 2:14, which is the next following Johannine passage, points to John 2:13 as the source of A 30:31 rather than to John 5:1. Still further there is no explanation, on Ciasca's assignment, of T's construction of the following narrative, which is concerned with what, at first sight at least, is an uncanonical Judean ministry. Such an explanation⁵⁸ is possible if the assignment herein suggested be accepted.

To support our explanation we may appeal to the larger context. Throughout 28:1—38:47 T deals with a period of Jesus' career in which Christ seems to have made a number of journeys to and fro between Perea and Jerusalem (*cf.* the outline, chap. ii). In 28:42 it is recorded that Jesus returned from Jerusalem, whither he had gone, according to A 28:9 ff. From 28:42 on, T describes Jesus' Perea activities, drawing largely upon Matthew and Mark for his framework, but weaving into his account Lukan material. In this account, two discourses (28:42—29:42 on riches, and 29:43—30:30 warnings given at the Pharisee's table)⁵⁹ were put, when T was

⁵⁸ So far as I have been able to discover, there has been no attempt made to explain T's remarkable collocation of the material which follows A 30:31 (*cf.* the outline above, chap. ii). The explanation here given fully satisfies the demands of probability.

⁵⁹ For the suggestion that the first of these discourses was actually thought of by T as a single speech, see above, p. 61.

brought in the use of his material to Mark 10:32.⁶⁰ This verse implies a visit to Jerusalem. A passage (Luke 17:11-19) in the section of Luke which was being used in the construction of the narrative here was naturally connected with this journey, and was used before Mark 10:32, because it did not fit well at any subsequent point. T then continued his work with his Markan material. He includes Mark 10:32 ff. (interweaving Luke 18:31-34), which distinctly represents Jesus as referring to his passion, which was imminent.⁶¹ He then continued with Markan and Matthean material. Without going into detail, we may note that he gives an account of the journey, which, in the synoptists, is that which precedes the passion week. The decision to use this material in this position then brought T to the consideration of the accounts of the cleansing of the temple and of the triumphal entry. The account of the latter was reserved as the most fitting introduction to the narrative of the last Passover, and in particular to John 12:17 (*cf.* A 39:18-40:4). This reservation may have been suggested to T, in the first instance, by the fact that the fourth gospel separates the account of the triumphal entry from that of the cleansing of the temple, and this latter account seemed to T to be fittingly identified with that of the synoptists. The identification of the Johannine and synoptic accounts of the cleansing of the temple thus resulted, on the one hand, in the separation and postponement of the account of the triumphal entry. On the other hand, it determined for T that the whole of his narrative, beginning at a point corresponding to A 30:32 and continuing down to the harmonization of these two accounts of the cleansing of the temple, must refer to that journey to Jerusalem which is recorded in John 2:13 f., since it was with this journey that John connects the account of the cleansing. He, therefore, retraced his steps and inserted John 2:13 before his first reference to the journey (A 30:32 = Luke 17:11) which had yet been made. He added to John 2:13, as a connective to what preceded, the words "And after that."⁶² Then he co-ordinated and conflated, at the proper points, the whole Johannine narrative contained in John 2:13-3:21, except the passage John 2:23-25 which had already been used, with the significant omission of John

⁶⁰ Mark seems to be the starting-point for all of T's work here.

⁶¹ Yet the passion is a year off, according to the indications in D (*cf.* the continuation of the above discussion). This chronological incongruity might be added to the list at the beginning of this chapter.

⁶² These are the words which probably led to the assignment of this verse to John 5:1. With this explanation of them there is no further need to consider that assignment.

2:23a,⁶³ at A 15:12-14. T then had his co-ordinated and conflated account connected with a Passover feast. He continued his narrative of the activities of Jesus at this feast by the use of material from the synoptics, and at one point in this procedure was led to differentiate the Passover here concerned with that of the passion week. At the very beginning of the section of D which we are discussing (A 28:1—38:47), T had used a part of John, chap. 7 (7:2-31), breaking off with vs. 31 at A 28:32. He was undoubtedly watching for a good opportunity to resume the use of Johannine material, and such an opportunity seemed to him to be offered at the point corresponding to A 34:48, for John 7:31 joins well here. Once the Johannine narrative was resumed, there did not seem to T that there was any suitable place to break it until the end of John, chap. 11 was reached, and therefore the entire section (John 7:31—11:57) is incorporated, with the introduction of only one brief passage of synoptic material (Matt. 21:41—46; A 35:17-22), which is inserted *in toto*. But this long passage from the fourth gospel contained John 10:22, which refers to Jesus' presence in Jerusalem during the winter. In view of the development of the preceding narrative, this referred to the winter after the Passover of A 30:31. T was, therefore, compelled to regard the Passover, referred to in John 12:1, to which he came in his study at the end of John, chap. 11 (included above), as one year later than the feast to which he has referred in A 30:31. When this conclusion was reached, the material from Luke 9:51-56 was inserted before John 12:1 as an introductory statement (A 38:42-47; cf. 39:1),⁶⁴ and then the account of the passion week was compiled.

Such a procedure as this, which has been suggested, is the only one, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, which will explain the remarkable arrangement which T has given his material. The length of our discussion of this one passage (A 30:31), in which a repetition of John 5:1 is alleged to be present, is justified by the importance of correctly assigning this verse in order to understand T's arrangement of material in A 28:1—39:17. The result for the subject of this chapter is that there are three reasons for assigning A 30:31 to John 2:13 rather than to John 5:1. These reasons are (1) the closer

⁶³ This statement would have been incongruous at A 15:12, since the context here does not represent the scene of Jesus' activities at Jerusalem.

⁶⁴ This place would seem to be a better one for Mark 10:32 ff., which really creates an incongruity where it stands (A 30:40 ff.), on account of the postponement of the fulfilment of Jesus' prediction for a whole year. This incongruity might be added to the list above.

agreement of A 30:31 with John 2:13; (2) the proximity of John 2:14 to A 30:31 in the context of D; and (3) the possibility of explaining T's arrangement if John 2:13 be the source. These reasons seem conclusive. A 30:31 then is to be assigned to John 2:13.

We may resume our presentation of doublets in D.

12. *A 28:32; cf. 34:48.*—In both places John 7:31 is used.

13. *A 45:27; cf. 49:17.*—Here Mark 14:30b is twice employed.

14. *A 54:14; cf. 55:5.*—John 20:21b is used at both points.

We have thus thirteen illustrations (deducting No. 11) of T's use of the same material more than once. In one instance, he uses the same saying three times, and each time it is drawn from a different source. On the other hand, he employs passages twice from the same source. He also gives double accounts because of incomplete harmonization, and this too where the passages, in their entirety, are identified as referring to the same event or speech. Both the number and variety of our illustrations are, therefore, great.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPARISON OF THE METHODS OF TATIAN AND THE SYNOPTISTS.

THE greater part of our investigation has now been completed. We have discovered the characteristic of T's literary methods. It still remains for us to compare these characteristics with the phenomena which appear in a comparison of the synoptic gospels with one another. What degree of similarity is there between the two? This is the main question of our problem. We have found in D, which is indisputably compiled from written sources, examples of almost every sort of phenomenon which are generally alleged to be present in works supposed to be compilations. Moreover, these phenomena are just such as are alleged to be present in the synoptic gospels. T worked out a plan for his gospel, to which he subordinated the material of his sources, choosing material now from one document, now from another. Likewise the synoptists clearly adopted plans for their respective gospels, and exercised discretion in the arrangement of the material which they drew from their sources. The plan adopted by T follows the main divisions of Jesus' life as represented by our gospels, but with the striking difference of the omission of an early Judean ministry and the practical creation of a later one. In this respect, accordingly, T was freer in his method than the authors of Matthew and Luke, who, though adding the infancy sections, follow the main divisions of Mark with respect to other material.⁶⁵

In the working out of his plan T made alterations affecting the order of paragraphs, events, sentences, and words. Here, too, T is freer with his sources than the synoptists are with theirs, save possibly with reference to the order of words (see below, pp. 77, 78). The order of sections and events in Matthew and Luke is much nearer to that of Mark⁶⁶ than T's arrangement is to any one of his sources. In the change in the order of sentences, too, T goes farther than the synoptists, unless we except Matthew. But with regard to the changed order of words the case is, as intimated above,

⁶⁵ Note, however, Luke's lengthening of the Perean journey, which may be considered analogous in freedom to the arrangement of T just referred to, unless Luke has merely slipped in a document *in toto* at this place.

⁶⁶ This statement is made on the supposition that Mark was used in some form by Matthew and Luke, but the validity of the comparison with T which is involved would not be affected if we related the synoptic gospels in a different way, since the general order of all three is so similar.

slightly different for there are relatively fewer certainly attested examples of this phenomenon in D than in the synoptic gospels. This point will be further considered below (pp. 69, 70). For the present all we need state is that there are occurrences of this phenomenon in D as well as in the synoptic gospels. In this fact we have an important datum. It is in reference to the occurrence in the gospels of precisely such minute and, as it were, unconscious changes that the objection mentioned above (footnote, p. 10) is most vehemently urged. Yet here are examples in a document which we know to have been compiled from written sources. And we may add to such considerations that of the similarity of T's additions to those of the synoptists. They are parallel in variety, and possibly T's outnumber those of the authors of the first three gospels. In some of T's additions which are derived from other sources than the four evangelists we have an exact analogy to those small items which occur here and there in our first gospel, and whose sources are so hard to discover. The omissions of D are numerous and varied in nature. No sort of omission which can be pointed out in the synoptic gospels fails to find a parallel in D. Words and phrases, sentences and clauses, parallel material (which sometimes had a form different from that of the material used), items of material in rejected parallel accounts, and even one long section (or if both genealogies are counted, two), are omitted. In conflating, T goes to much greater limits than any of the synoptists. And yet his method is directly illustrative of theirs. This is particularly true of that phase of his method to which attention was called above (chap. v), viz., the enrichment and creation of discourses from more or less scattered passages of discourse material. The illustrations of T's method in this respect which have been presented above will be especially interesting to those who hold that the authors of the first and third gospels had a source which is represented, at least in large part, by the Perean section of Luke, and that this source furnished much of the enrichment in the discourses of the first gospel. These illustrations are also just as apt for any who should hold that the author of Matthew used Luke directly. In either case, the enriching process of the author of the first gospel has been carried one step farther by T. He has continued the process by adding more of the Lukan material to a substantially Matthean basis. The study of T's version of the Sermon on the Mount, not to consider any other discourses, will amply substantiate this statement. When we pass from the

consideration of conflation to that of rewriting, we find once more in D illustrations of phenomena which are alleged to be present in the gospels. Every kind of rewriting is illustrated except that of paragraphs rewritten entire.⁶⁷ In particular are to be noticed the changes in grammatical forms and the substitution of synonymous words and phrases. But in the case of contextual incongruities, the number of instances in D is comparatively greater than in the synoptic gospels. Indeed, there are few occurrences of such a phenomenon in the synoptists. T has, too, a greater variety of repetitions than the first three evangelists (*cf.* p. 74, *supra*). In whatever direction we turn, therefore, whatever species of deviation from sources we seek, we find in D illustrations of the phenomena (saving rewritten paragraphs) which are alleged to occur in the first three gospels. Indeed, in some respects T handles his sources more freely than the synoptists. Furthermore, the illustrations show a similarity between the methods of T and the synoptists, not only in including every category of phenomena, but also in that for some of these phenomena specific explanations may be found, while others can appeal for explanation only to general literary habit. In the case of many of T's characteristics, it can be quite clearly seen how he was led to pursue the course adopted. But in others (*e. g.*, the change in order and the rewriting of words) no such explanation is forthcoming. It is, accordingly, all but impossible to avoid the conclusion that the similarity of the phenomena in D to those in the synoptic gospels is, with the one exception noted, complete.

But over against this completeness there may be raised an objection. The paucity of examples of omitted paragraphs and of altered order of words, together with the complete absence of rewritten sections, it may be said, makes the similarity incomplete. But the paucity alluded to is only relative, and cannot be said to constitute a real difference in method. In the case of omitted paragraphs, the difference is, at least to a certain extent, only apparent, not real. The phenomenon does not occur much more frequently in the gospels than in D. So far as we can be certain of their sources, our evangelists omit sections rarely. They seem to have had almost, if not quite, as great a desire as T not to omit any section found in their sources. The fact that the latter omitted the genealogies shows that his mind was not immovably set against such a procedure. On the other hand, it may be that T altered the order of words less often

⁶⁷ See discussion below, pp. 78, 79.

than the authors of the first three gospels; but this cannot be proved, or even made probable, and it is rather contrary to the trend of the evidence. To be sure, the actual number of occurrences of the phenomenon is small, but the paucity is due rather to our processes of investigation than to T's literary habits. With such a rigid limitation of the text as we have made, there is relatively but a small area left to be investigated. This fact must be remembered when judgment is rendered upon the number of examples given in any of the lists. In the area of text which we have traversed the number of illustrations in almost all the lists is great enough to substantiate our contention. Judging from the number in this limited sphere, the lists could, in every case (except omissions of paragraphs and rewriting of paragraphs), be greatly lengthened if we were permitted to use the whole text of A unchallenged. In fact, examples of almost every kind of phenomena have had to be set aside in the preparation of this paper, on account of the limits which, for the sake of certainty, have been determined for the use of the text. And what is thus true of almost all the lists is particularly so with respect to the occurrences of altered order of words. The parallel passages of our gospels and the variants of the gospel texts all but exhaust the possibilities in the arrangement of words. Wherever there was a possibility of change, likely to arise in literary or scribal processes, either the evangelists in their use of one another's gospels, or scribes in their transmission of the gospel texts, have fallen into the altering tendency. Since, then, according to the limitations set for this investigation, these conditions almost exclude the possibility of finding instances of order not paralleled in one or another of the gospels or in some variant of their texts, we should be surprised to find any examples of this phenomenon rather than complain of the paucity of occurrences. The fact that such do occur, though few, is very significant. If our text were not so limited and our use of it so hampered, we might expect the number to be greater; indeed, instances of difference of order between the text of A and the Westcott and Hort Greek text, as well as the instances of other phenomena just referred to, have been set aside in our application of our principles. It would seem, therefore, that the paucity of occurrences of altered order of words, no more than the paucity of instances of omitted paragraphs, is a menace to the acceptability of the conclusion that T's method is completely similar to that of the synoptists.

On the other hand, the absence of entire rewritten paragraphs

from D constitutes a real difference between T's method and that of the first three evangelists. Yet this difference is not sufficiently serious to shake appreciably the conclusion already reached. T clearly did hold the letter of the gospels in sufficiently higher regard than the synoptists did their sources, to cause him to refrain from rewriting paragraphs, as they sometimes did. Yet this is the only exception to the general conclusion as regards the similarity of their methods. T's greater fidelity goes no farther than this, and it would be absurd to allow this exception to control our conclusion, reached on the basis of otherwise harmonious, extensive, and complete evidence. We must go no farther adversely to the conclusion than to note and admit the exception. Yet, on the other hand, there is good ground for holding that this absence was to be expected. T lived and wrote after the entrance into Christian thought of the idea of the canon. Indeed, this idea had reached a considerably advanced stage of development, and, so far as the supremacy of our four gospels is concerned, had progressed as far as it ever did. This idea certainly had an effect upon T's choice of sources, and it could hardly have failed to bring about precisely that greater fidelity to them which occasioned the exception to his otherwise free treatment. We should not, therefore, be surprised at the absence from D of rewritten paragraphs. On the other hand, the fact that the canon idea had no effect, or at most but little, upon the synoptists, at once explains their comparative readiness to rewrite even whole paragraphs. In this one respect their method was determined without the limitation which beset T. The difference, therefore, which actually exists can have little weight in affecting our estimate of the method of the synoptists in the light of that of T. But even if we allow it all the force it could claim, were it not for the consideration of T's conception of the canon, nevertheless, it could not balance, much less outweigh, the otherwise complete similarity of the two methods.

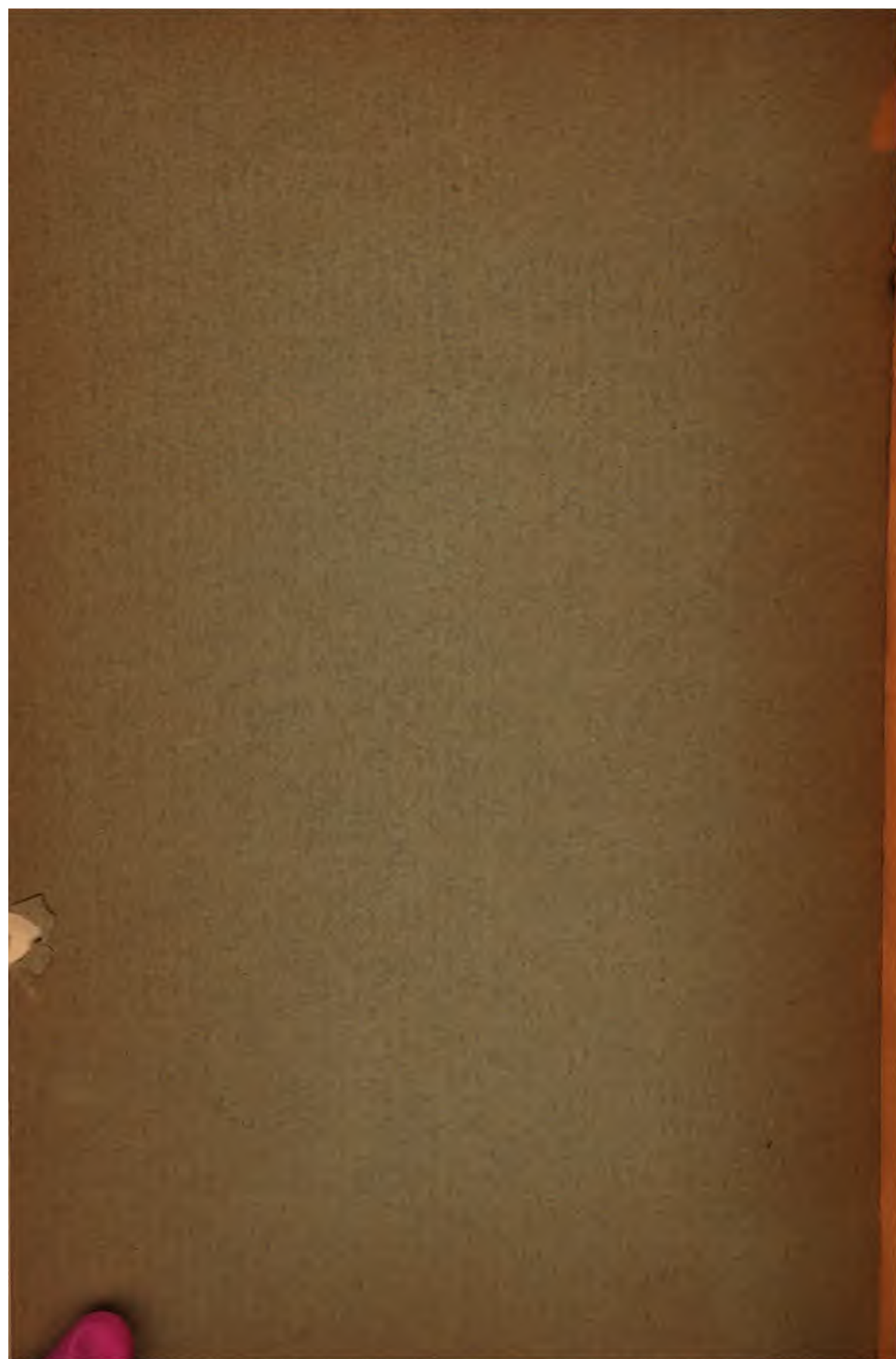
The attainment of the conclusion with respect to this great similarity puts us in a position to see what bearing the results of our study have upon the solution of the synoptic problem. In the first place, they completely dispose of the objection to the documentary hypothesis to which reference was made above (footnote, p. 10). The objection rests upon two premises: (1) The high regard of the synoptists for their gospel accounts would have forbidden them to make radical or purposeless changes in the use of these sources. (2) Appeal to mere literary habit, without evidence of specif-

ically purposed change, is not sufficient to explain such alterations as the synoptists are alleged to have made. The first premise is an unwarranted assumption, since we do not know that these writers regarded their sources with so high a degree of reverence. A consideration of the history of the idea of the canon, and of the fact that T, under the influence of this growing idea, used his sources with greater freedom than some today would employ them, clearly shows the direction of tendency, and indicates that our evangelists, since the idea of the canon probably did not affect them, would allow themselves a large liberty in the use of their sources, which they nevertheless regarded as historically trustworthy and whose historical testimony they endeavored substantially to preserve. We may therefore consider the first premise as giving no foundation for the objection. The second premise is destroyed by the consideration of the phenomena presented in this paper and of the conclusion reached in view of them. Many of the peculiarities of D can be ascribed only to T's literary habits. This ascription being thus the only possible one, at the same time satisfies all reasonable demand for an explanation. No appeal to "tendency" can or need be made. Since this is true of the phenomena of D, there certainly is no good reason for holding that it cannot be true of the exactly similar phenomena of the synoptic gospels. Both of the premises are therefore destroyed. The evidence of D is convincing and final in its disposition of this objection which is so often made, and which to some seems the only insuperable obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the documentary theory of the origin of our gospels.

But this negative conclusion is not the only one which may fairly be drawn from the results of our investigation. Over against this as the first deduction is a second which is positive. The completeness of the similarity between T's method and that of the synoptists gives general corroboration of the documentary theory. There is only one consideration which precludes this corroboration from amounting to an absolute demonstration. We have no means by which to determine with absolute certainty whether such phenomena as appear in D and our gospels might or might not arise in a work whose author used reasonably rigid oral tradition. Were it possible to put this consideration to the test—as, *e. g.*, might be the case if we possessed two works both of which were certainly known to be independently based upon the same cycle of oral tradition—we could then determine whether the phenomena of D and those of the synoptic gospels were peculiar to

compilations from written sources, or were common to all works which use sources either written or oral. The material for such a test we do not now possess, and can scarcely hope ever to obtain. It is therefore out of the question to do more than note the necessary modification of our conclusion. Aside from this qualification which is incapable of justification, we are safe, until someone produces evidence to the contrary, in concluding that the almost complete similarity mentioned above shows that our synoptists used written sources. If T, a hundred years more or less after the writing of the synoptic gospels, could still at so late a date write a gospel from written sources by a method all but completely similar to that alleged of the synoptists, certainly there can be no *a priori* reason against the documentary theory of the origin of our gospels, but rather this fact is a strong corroboration of it.

The sum total of our work in its relation to the synoptic problem is, then, negatively, to dispose of the objection above referred to, and, positively, to corroborate, in both its general and particular features, the documentary hypothesis.







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